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VENICE

Part I, Volume II

VENICE

BY

POMPEO MOLMENTI

Translated from the Italian by
HORATIO F. BROWN, British
Archivist and author of "In
and Around Venice," etc.

Part I

VENICE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

2 volumes

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VENICE

ITS INDIVIDUAL GROWTH FROM THE EARLIEST BEGINNINGS TO THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

BY

POMPEO MOLMENTI

TRANSLATED BY HORATIO F. BROWN

PART I — THE MIDDLE AGES

VOLUME II

CHICAGO

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

LONDON, JOHN MURRAY BERGAMO, ISTITUTO ITALIANO

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CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER IX
Costume 1

CHAPTER X
Manners and Customs 23

CHAPTER XI
The Industrial Arts 61

CHAPTER XII
The Fine Arts 96

CHAPTER XIII
Culture 139

DOCUMENTS 177

INDEX 225

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

A reduced page from the "Mariegola" of the School of St. John the Evangelist (Diplomatic Hall of State Archives) . . *Frontispiece*

Carrying the relics of S. Marco into the church. A mosaic (XIII century) of the façade of S. Marco 2

Form of ducal cap — the Doge Antonio Venier (1382–1400) . . . 6

Ducal Caps 6

Types of the people (XIV century) from a codex of the XIV century (Guggenheim Collection) 10

Venetian Costumes (XIV century) 12

Venetian Costume (XV century) — detail of a picture by Carpaccio in the Academy 14

Venetian Costumes (XV century) — details of a picture by Carpaccio in the Academy 20

Burial Customs — from the "Fatti dei SS. Filippo e Giacomo" (Mosaic of S. Marco, XIII century) 24

Sepulchral urn of General Jacopo Cavalli (1384), by Paolo di Jacobello dalle Masegne. (Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo) . . 24

"Civitas Veneciarum" — from "Breydenbach Peregrinatio" . . 32

Attitudes of Prayer. ("Opus penitentiale" — State Archives) . . 34

Attitudes of Prayer. ("Opus penitentiale" — State Archives) . . 36

A Venetian Wedding (XV century) — from a painting of Giovanni d'Alemagna and of Antonio Vivarini; in the Academy . . . 42

Playing Cards (Museo Civico) 56

Glass nuptial cup, attributed to Angelo Beroviero (Museo Civico) . 66

Ancient glass phial, discovered in excavation (Museo Civico) . . 66

Standard or penant of Sa. Fosca (1366). (Museo di Torcello) . . 74

Basilica of S. Marco — The Pala d'Oro 78

Outside Gate of Bronze at S. Marco, work of Bertuccio Orefice (1300) 86

PAGE

Ceiling in the Sala dell' Albergo della Scuola della Carità (XV century) 90

Palazzo da Mosto ai Santi Apostoli (IX century) 98

Church (1250–1338) and Tower (1361–1396) of Sa. Maria dei Frari 102

S. Marco 104

Ducal Palace. Great Window Facing the Harbour 106

The Contarini-Fasan Palace (XV century) 108

La Ca' d'Oro (XV century) 110

Part of the Arch of the Months in the Church of S. Marco . . . 112

Statues on the Architrave of the Presbytery of S. Marco (XIV century) 116

Bas-relief in painted wood (XIV century) in S. Donato di Murano . 126

Jacobello del Fiore — The Coronation of the Virgin (1432) (Royal galleries of Venice) 134

Angels holding in their hands the organ called "Ninfale" in a bas-relief of the XV century. (Sacristy of Sa. Maria della Salute) 162

Guarino Veronese — medal of Matteo da Pasti 162

Gasparino Barzizza — from a print of M. Pitteri 162

Cardinal Bessarione. (Painting of the XVI century — Library of S. Marco) 164

Portrait of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani by Gentile Bellini. (At the Academy) 168

The Last Supper 172

Christ led before Pilate — from the book "Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi," printed at Venice in 1450 172

VENICE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER IX

COSTUME

THE Venetians readily assimilated the gorgeous and variegated costumes of the East at the time when commerce with the Levant began to bring wealth in its train. All the same they did not abandon the native simplicity of their dress, and as though to preserve the tradition of their ancestors, the Eneti, they continued to prefer blue as a colour. A plain shawl fell from the head over the shoulders of the women; the girls, jealously guarded, were not allowed to show themselves in the streets without a white silk veil which covered their face and a large part of their figure. Perhaps the white *ninzioleto* of the Venetian women and the *tonda* of the Chioggian preserve traces of the custom to this day. The men of the people wore a mantle like a Roman military cloak, a short tunic, and hose buttoned tight at the shin, or else bands wound round their legs; they had bonnets and hoods, and grew long hair and beards.

The upper classes, on the other hand, wore magnificent costumes, especially the Doge, whose official robes resembled very closely the style of an Eastern emperor[1]: a long cassock reaching to the ankles, held by a girdle at the waist; a rich mantle, fastened at the

[1] Ramusio, P., *De Bello Constantinopolitano*, etc. Venetiis, Nicolini, 1634.

right shoulder by a golden brooch; a round cap with a button on the top, or else a fine circlet of gold about the brows.[1] Venetian matrons wore stately dresses of gold or silver webs, reaching to the ground and gathered in at the waist by a golden girdle, loose cloaks with a band of fur coming over the shoulders like a stole, bonnets with gold ornaments, and long, loose-flying hair. At church festivals a circlet of finely chiselled gold was worn and a long mantle of embroidered silk reaching to the ground.[2] The pall (*palio*), of which we have tradition in the seventh century as being worn by Venetian ladies of the upper rank, was a sleeveless tunic of Eastern cut, beneath which appeared the corslet or chemise open at the breast and laced across by cords. On their feet they wore shoes with wooden soles or elegantly embroidered slippers.

The mosaics of the twelfth century in the atrium of San Marco, and the later but more remarkable mosaics of the façade, representing the translation of the saint's remains into the church, show us how the early Venetians dressed. The Doge, who is on the point of entering the basilica with his suite, wears a purple tunic, purple stockings, and on his head a red biretta shaped like a mitre. Behind him come the nobles in cloth cloaks, embroidered and gathered at the waist by a belt. In the left-hand corner is a group of ladies surrounding the Dogaressa, who is remarkable for her more elaborate costume. She wears a jewelled crown on her head, a long red mantle descends in heavy

[1] Buoncompagni, in his *De obsidione Anconae* (*Rer. It. Script.*, Vol. VI, p. 929), says that in 1174 the Doge wore not a cap, but a fine circlet of gold (*aureum circulum in vertice defert*), and that it was only twenty years later that a golden crown, studded with precious stones, was adopted.

[2] Vecellio, *Habiti ant. et mod. di tutto il mondo* (*Donna nobile matrona Venetiana antica*), T. I. Venetia, 1590.

Carrying the relics of S. Marco into the church.
A mosaic (XIII century) of the façade of S. Marco

folds from her shoulders, and a red girdle gathers in her pale blue embroidered dress. Her attendant dames show a great variety of costume. One has her blond hair crowned by a golden diadem, a blue mantle falls from her shoulders; another has her hair confined by ribbons of various colours; another has a band all round her face; a fourth wears a purple cloak lined with green, beneath which one catches a glimpse of a violet dress embroidered in silver. These ladies hold by the hand two little boys who are carrying a train of red and blue divided lengthwise. This mosaic is not earlier than 1200, but shows costumes of the preceding period, which still betray Byzantine influence.

After the twelfth century the dignified Oriental costume gradually gives way to the fashions which caused Dante to lament the decay in the ancient manners of his native town. In the thirteenth century Ricobaldo of Ferrara[1] describes Italian dress as rude and uncouth: the men in rough woollen cloaks, the women in jupons of fustian; none wore golden ornaments. But early in the trecento the Dominican Galvano Fiamma[2] describes the young Milanese as dressing *alla spagnuola*, with close-fitting jerkins; while De Mussis, a chronicler of Piacenza,[3] laments that the young men of his country were in the habit of shaving half their heads and wearing a *zazzera* or close-fitting cap, while they adopted short jerkins and such tight-fitting hose as to be positively immodest. These long cloth hose were wrought in silk, gold, silver, and pearls, and were attached at five points to the short upper jerkin.

[1] *Compil. Chronologica* (*Rer. It. Script.*, Vol. IX, p. 247).

[2] Cronaca inedita (Lib. XVIII, Cap. 6) quoted by Muratori, *Antichità Italiane*, Diss. XIV.

[3] *Placentinae urbis, ac nonnullarum nobilium tum in ea, tum per Italiam familiarum descriptio* (*Rer. It. Script.*, Vol. XVI).

The women adorned their heads with gold nets, and, according to De Mussis, they always wore long robes of velvet with a silver belt and great sleeves that swept the ground, ending in a point. Giovanni Villani chides the women of his day for having already "trascorse in ornamenti di corone e di ghirlande d'oro e d'argento e di perle, e pietre preziose, e reti intrecciate di perle, e altri divisati ornamenti di testa di grande costo, e simile, di vestiti intagliati di diversi panni e di drappi rilevati di seta e di più maniere, con fregi di perle e di pietre preziose al petto con diversi segni e lettere." And Franco Sacchetti, ridiculing the constant change of fashion, exclaims, "Se un arzagogo apparisse con una nuova foggia, tutto il mondo la piglia, . . . Che fu a vedere già le donne col capezzale tanto aperto che mostravano più giù che le ditelle! E poi dierono un salto e feciono il collaretto infino agli orecchi. . . . Le donne vanno in cappucci e mantelli. I più dei giovani senza mantello vanno in zazzera. Elle non hanno, se non a tórre le brache, ed hanno tolto tutto."[1]

We see these new fashions represented in Venice on the Pala d'oro (1344), and in the mosaics of the baptistry of San Marco (1343), the magistrates in their caps and red birettas, and the Doge Andrea Dandolo on his knees before the crucifix. There is another mosaic in the chapel of Sant' Isidoro (1355), also in San Marco, which shows us, among others, the Doge Domenico Michiel. Again we find the same costumes in the matriculation roll of the *Pelizeri d'ovra vera* (1324), and in the *Capitolare* of the Doge Andrea Dandolo (1342).[2]

The new fashion adopted in Italy shows the women with long dresses open in front and girdled round the

[1] Nov. CLXXVIII. [2] Museo Civico, in the Miniature room.

waist, and the men with fancy hose and tight sleeves and a soft bag-shaped bonnet; examples occur in the miniatures of the *Capitolare degli ufficiali sopra il Lido*, in the *Mariegola della Scuola di Santa Maria di Valverde*, and the *Mariegola di San Giovanni Evangelista*, in the *Capitolare dei Consiglieri*, in some of the *Promissioni Ducali*,[1] in the *Capitolari dei Procuratori di San Marco* (1367), in the *Mariegola della Scuola di San Teodoro*,[2] in the *Leggenda di Santa Margherita*, the *Cronaca* of Raffaino Caresini,[3] and in the *Codice-Erbario* of the fourteenth century.[4]

The manuscript already cited, "Lewis of France his Visit to Purgatory," preserved at Saint Patrice in Brittany, gives us examples of the new fashion, — the men with a kind of ducal cap on their heads, or a bonnet falling down on the shoulder, and a very peaked front, cloaks tied at the neck and reaching not lower than the knees, large sleeves, and tight-fitting hose. The women wear dresses with long trains, short waists low cut, and have long-pointed shoes that turn up; in place of the ancient bonnet they have their hair plaited like a garland.

In a manuscript containing the legendary account of

[1] All these are of the fourteenth century, and are at the Archivio di Stato.

[2] Museo Civico, in the Miniature room.

[3] The legend of Saint Margaret in Venetian verse of the thirteenth century is to be found in *Codex Marciano Ital. 13 del fondo antico;* this is the famous codex of ancient Italian poems to which Mussafia and others have drawn attention. The script is of the fourteenth century. This text has recently been edited and collated with other MSS. by B. Wiese, *Eine altlombardische Margarethen-legende*, Halle, Niemayer, 1890. — The Chronicle of Raffaino Caresini is also in the Marciana, It. Cl. VII, 770.

[4] In the Guggenheim collection at Venice. Cfr. De Toni, *Sopra un Codice-Erbario Medioevale (atti del R. Ist. Veneto*, Vol. IX, Serie VII, 1897-98).

the visit of Pope Alexander III to Venice,[1] we see the Doge with a crimson mantle and an ermine cape, and the councillors in robes of green, red, and violet, with round hats or white caps on their heads. The fullest development of this style of dress is to be found in the costume of the company of "The Hose," which lent to the Venice of the late middle ages such an air of elegance. The young bloods, members of the club, wore fancy doublets of silk velvet, embroidered in gold and fitting tight to the body, with a belt at the waist. The sleeves were slashed, but tied together at points by ribbons, leaving puffs of the white shirt to come through. The hose were tight fitting and striped lengthwise in colours; the shoes were pierced at the toes; on the shoulders a cloak of cloth-of-gold, damask, or crimson velvet, with a hood on the lining of which was embroidered the device of the club. From under a red or black cap, hanging over the ear and adorned by a jewel, escaped the locks of hair, bound round by a ribbon, and so long and abundant that in 1462 a Camaldolese monk, Fra Mauro Lapi, wrote to the Doge Cristoforo Moro advising him to stop the youths from wearing *capillaturas nimis longas, ut faciunt mulieres.*[2]

The pictures of Carpaccio, Gentile Bellini, and Giovanni Mansueti are our most precious documents in the matter of costume. These painters, though representing the magnificent external setting of the already triumphant Renaissance, nevertheless bear testimony to the private life of the Venetians of the earlier period; they show us the aspect of the houses, the style of dress

[1] *Leggende dei gloriosi apostoli Pietro e Paolo, di S. Alban e della Venuta a Venezia di Alessandro III*, Museo Civico, Cod. Membr. of the early fifteenth century. Bibl. Correr Cod., n. 1497.

[2] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, Vol. VI, p. 752.

(A)

(B)

A — Form of ducal cap — the Doge Antonio Venier

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and adornments, which still retained the imprint of the middle ages. In fact that movement of ideas which carried art and letters back to antiquity had no effect for a long time on costume, nor did it ever revive the ample robes nor the toga of the Roman epoch.

We have evidence as to other curious costumes of the early fifteenth century in some little pictures attributed to the school of Lazzaro Bastiani,[1] now in the church of Sant' Alvise. There we find biblical characters in contemporary Venetian dress; for example, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba stand one on each side of a canal crossed by a wooden bridge. The king is in a robe of golden samite, with hair dressed *alla belliniana;* the queen is in a robe of velvet damask *soprarizzo,* with hair gathered into a knot at the back of the neck. In another of these pictures Rachel has a most curious costume; it is open at the side, letting the leg be seen; the breast is displayed, and her hair is dressed to resemble the Doge's cap.

In addition to the paintings we have also documents which afford an ample but occasionally obscure comment; they dwell at length on the most minute details of costume and give us their names, which are not, however, always easy to interpret.

[1] These eight little pictures are held by some to be a modern forgery. Other critics of weight, such as Ruskin, consider them as the very earliest work of Carpaccio. Gustav Ludwig more plausibly attributes them to the school of Lazzaro Bastiani, in whose shop Carpaccio must have learned the rudiments of his art. As illustrations of costume they appear to us most valuable. The eight pictures used to be upon the organ loft of the church of Santa Maria delle Vergini and were bought, so Cicogna says (*Iscr.*, T. V, p. 624), by the Abbé Francesco Driuzzo in 1842, and given to the church of Sant' Alvise. They represent: 1. Rachel at the well. 2. Jacob and his brethren before Joseph. 3. Tobias and the Angel. 4. Nebuchadnezzar's dream. 5. Job. 6. Moses and the Golden Calf. 7. Joshua and the fall of Jericho.

To begin with, they show us the Doge in greater pomp and magnificence than in the earlier years. The cap of crimson velvet, formed like an ancient mitre, and generally known later on as the *Corno Ducale,* came to assume the shape of a Phrygian cap, and in the thirteenth century the Doge Rinieri Zeno gave it a golden circlet, while Lorenzo Celsi (1361–1365) added a golden cross on the top. This Doge always appeared in public in white. In 1473 Niccolò Marcello made the *corno* entirely golden. The stockings always remained purple, the tippet of ermine was lengthened and fastened by golden buttons, and the mantle also, which by the law of 1320 the Doge was bound to wear on solemn occasions, was likewise of cloth-of-gold. Another law, of 1339, added still further to the splendour of the Doge's state, and at the opening of the fifteenth century he began to appear in public entirely clad in cloth-of-gold, his head covered by a white cap of finest linen, tied under the chin, and the ducal *corno* studded with precious gems, among which one shone with special lustre in the forefront of the crown under a tiny cross.[1] In his private habit the Doge's cap, robe, and socks were of red.

Nor was the Dogaressa's costume in any way inferior in splendour,—a trailing robe, a dress of gold brocade open in front and lined with ermine, the head covered

[1] "Tunc longevus ipse dux, veneranda canitie spectandus, lata est clamide aurati palii usque ad terram dimissa vestitus. Cuius ducale caput perspicue tele parva candens infula decorat, ligulis sub mento connexis, supra quam exaurato palio, decus ducalis dignitatis, alia imponitur infula major, palulum parte eminentiore cornuta; sed qua rotunditas eius caput circuit, immensi saphiri immense gemme valoris inextimabilis oculos visentibus stupore peripiunt. Sed precipua gemmarum una in anteriore vertice capitis eminet, cui super est auri crux parva relucens." Marini, A., *De pompa ducatus*, op. cit.

by a long white veil on which reposed a ducal cap in miniature.

When the Venetians gave up Oriental costume the nobles and magistrates adopted, as official dress for state occasions, the long robe lined with fur. The colour of the robe varied with the office; thus, Senators wore a purple robe, violet was the colour for the Savi Grandi and the Consiglieri Ducali, red belonged to the chiefs of the Council of Ten and to the Avogadori and the Grand Chancellor. The stole (*stola*), a broad band of cloth, was of the same colour as the robe and hung from the shoulder. By a law of 1360, doctors were allowed to wear the robe of a noble, but it must be black, fastened to the collar by iron clasps. The bonnet and cap, whose place was taken later on by the *berretta a tozzo*, were supplemented for a long time by the use of the hood or cowl (*caputeum*). We read, for instance, that the father of the Doge Lorenzo Celsi refused to throw back his *capuzzale* in the presence of his son until the latter put a cross on the top of the ducal bonnet to compel reverence (1361), and even when they began to adopt caps and hats of leather, beaver, cloth-of-gold, and cloth of various shades bedecked with ribbons, the use of the hood did not die out (*supra caputeum habebat cappellum*). The point of the hood fell over the left shoulder and was drawn over the right shoulder by a long fillet, which was the origin of the stole.

Women's headgear assumed all sorts of bizarre forms: hoods sown with pearls, turbans of linen or cloth-of-gold (*balzum*), caps (*bugoli*) and snoods of embroidered or jewelled velvet, nets of gold or silk, veils of gold or silver web,[1] bands, fillets, ribbons, frontlets, *drezadori*, *dreziere*, *zoie* (tiaras) of precious metal or of rich stuff

[1] Vecellio, *Habiti*, p. 164.

studded with gems.[1] Their dresses too were of various fashions: *cultellatae*, of cut-out work,[2] *listatae*, of appliqué work, bands of other stuff running in vertical lines or crisscross, *ad unde de panno aureo*, or incision, *intagli*, or slashed, *frapae*.[3] The sleeves (*cubitalia*) were close fitting down to the elbow (*comeo*) in the dress called *dogalina*, or else loose and long, in which case the dress was called *alla ducale*. Another kind of sleeve was known as a *cortelazzo*, or pointed sleeve; they were open lengthwise and gathered together here and there by knots of ribbons or by golden buttons; the sleeve was adorned with embroidery or jewels.

Many and various are the names for dresses; for example, the *cappa*, which was not only a headgear but also a skirt, *la casacca* (*zacha* or jacket), the chlamys, the petticoat (*carpetta*), the mantle (*sioca*, *crosina*), the over cloak (*gabbano* or *barlotto*), the jupon (*zube*), the vest or waistcoat (*varda cuori*), the *suprasigna* and *epilogi*, overcoats,[4] the *stropoli*[5] or sashes, the *cotardite*, *boccarde*, *varnaçoni* (nightgowns).[6] The variety of stuffs

[1] In an inventory of the property left by the Doge Francesco Dandolo, in 1341 (see Appendix, Documents C, n. VII), we find *Una zoia incasata et habet tresdecim taselos de rubinis et smaldis et perlis.*

[2] Muratori, *Antich. Ital.*, Vol. I, p. 319.

[3] The slashings and piercings became so common that in some countries the making of them became a special business, the workmen being called *affrappatore*. See Verga, E., *Le leggi suntuarie Milanesi*, p. 13. Milano, 1898.

[4] "Epitogium est genus vestis quod togae superinduebatur." Ducange.

[5] Cecchetti (*La Vita dei Veneziani*, etc. Venezia, 1886) says that the *stropolo* was a headgear or ornament for women. Monticolo, when reviewing the book (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, T. I, Serie V, p. 267), holds with more reason that *stropolo* is the ancient *strophiolum* or *strophio*, a sash used in Roman times by girls, who wore it round their body just below the breasts.

[6] *Un uarnason de camelin* is mentioned in the will of Sofia, widow of Marco Barbarigo (December, 1307), Arch. di Stato, Cancellaria Inferiore,

Types of the people (XIV century) — from a codex of the XIV century (Guggenheim Collection)

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was great, and so too of colours, crimson, amaranth,[1] *serantesimo, tabì* (damask),[2] taffeta, zendado [3] (a kind of taffeta), *catasamitto* or *bavela* (samite), red serge (*sarza*) or red or green velvet were used for tunics, or cloth either white, indigo, or turquoise blue, *livido* (ash-colour), *biavo* (pale blue), *festechin* (nut brown), *beretin* (gray), *vergato* (maroon), *morello* (murrey coloured), *misto* (pepper and salt), *sbiavato*[4] (dull blue). Handsome mourning robes of black were worn both by women and men, and the men allowed the beard to grow as a sign of grief after it had ceased to be a mark of honour or nobility.[5]

Rogiti d'Arpo Giovanni, B^a. D. Perg. s. n. In the will of a certain Giovanni di Jesolo (October 26, 1341) we read: "Capa e gonela de scarlato enuarotada costa soldi XLIII de grossi e po costa soldi II de grossi uno uarnazion de scarlato, e poi costa soldi X de grossi uno uarnasion rosado e una capa rosada costa soldi XII de grossi." Arch. di Stato, Procuratori di San Marco *de citra*, *Testamenti*, fasc. 1, n. 81.

[1] *Samiti d'oro* occurs in the *Liber Plegiorum* under date of February 22, 1224.

[2] *Tabì*, the Latin *tabilis*, was a kind of damask, copied by the Turks. See Merkel, *Tre corredi Milanesi* (*Bollett. dell' Istit. Stor. It.*, p. 167. Roma, 1893).

[3] *Zendado* was a web in very common use from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries. It was spun out of raw silk, dyed various colours, but chiefly red. It was used for sacred vestments and ordinary dress; it was also used for hangings, covers, ensigns, banners, etc. Monticolo, *Capitolari*, etc., p. 11, n. 2.

[4] Cecchetti, *La Vita*, etc. (*Le Vesti*), *passim*. After the close of the fifteenth century, in an inventory of the shop of the late Ser Andrea Benedito in Rialto, we find mentioned "zentanini chermesini, Velluti Alessandrini, rasi d'ogni colore, panni d'oro e d'argento, damaschi, tutti misurati a braccia e a quarte." Arch. di Stato, Inq. di Stato, Reg. Test., B^a. 912 (January 30, 1478).

[5] In ancient times the custom of wearing a beard was so common that people even wore false beards, *alla grega*, as they were called. Sanudo (*Vite dei Dogi*, p. 193, ed. Monticolo) says: "1125 Ritornato il Doge Domenico Michiel da Terra Santa fu preso nel Consiglio che attento Vinitiani tutti portavano barba a la grecha, che più non la potessero portar si non quelli che avesse corrotto." The habit of letting the beard

Buttons played a large part in the dress both of men and women. They were called *peroli*,[1] from their pear-like shape, and were made of gold, silver, enamel, amber, crystal, and pearls; there were also acorn-shaped and bell-shaped buttons made of gold or enamel; the *asole* and *passeti* were hooks and eyes and clasps of silver *ad manicas tunice* (*ansoli magni argentei inaurati*)[2]; we find also golden network (*magetae*),[3] gold or jewelled buckles (*bochete*), *frixature* of gold or pearl,[4] *pianette* or large flat buttons of silver, *tondini*, plaques of some precious metal, *bordi* (trimmings), *cordelle* (braid), *frange* (fringes), *doppioni* (flounces), *baveri*[5] (lapels). To this kind of ornament belonged the embroideries in coloured pearls[6] and the plaques with the family coat displayed,[7] or with ciphers or mottoes in letters of gold or silver, whence the robes were called *litteratae*; they were of very ancient origin derived from the East. If the robes bore figures of birds or other animals they were called *uccellatae* and *scultatae*. Other ornaments

grow as a sign of mourning lasted for long. Sanudo (*Diarii*, Vol. VII, p. 504) says: "Adi 26 ottobre (1508) la mattina fo in Collegio ser Cristofal Moro luogotenente in Cipro con barba per essergli morta la moglie venendo di Cipro."

[1] In a list of the trousseau of a niece of Giovanni della Borea (April 6, 1300) we find, among other things, "peroli d'anbro VII soldi III de grossi; frixadura 1 de perle e frixadura 1 d'auro soldi XIII de grossi peroli d'arçento," etc. (published by Bertanza and Lazzarini, op. cit., p. 13).

[2] See in Appendix Documents C (*Inventario del Doge Dandolo*).

[3] Merkel, op. cit., p. 156, n. 13.

[4] In the trousseau of the daughter of Marco Gritti (April, 1300) we find *una fixadura d'oro e un bolpsor una centura d'argento, una drecera d'oro.* Arch. di Stato, Giudici del Petizion, *Serie Petizion*, 1300–1325.

[5] Cecchetti, *La Vita*, etc., *passim*.

[6] We find them recorded as early as 1250. Gay, *Glossaire*, s. v. *broderie*. Paris, 1887.

[7] "Unum suprasignum de catasamito ad arma de cha Dandolo." See Appendix, Documents C, *Inventario del Doge Dandolo*.

Venetian Costumes (XIV century)

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were the belt (*centure* or *cingoli*), made of strips of silver with filagree work in between, and with buckles of chiselled, incised, or repoussé-work, and the *centi* or *cinti*, girdles of leather or of stuff, from which was suspended a bag of knitted silk with gold thread running through it and with fringes with steel tassels, or else a little knife in a sheath, or, after the German fashion, a spoon of rare workmanship.[1]

The neck was adorned by strings of pearls or beads or chaplets called *paternostri*, made of amber, coral, or silver. The fingers were loaded with rings, not always of precious stones,[2] but sometimes of false gems, turned out in the glass factories of Murano. They wore gloves either of chamois leather or of silk, and even at this early date the Venetian glovers were world renowned.[3] Footgear was of many shapes and colours: cloth-of-gold, red, embroidered, slippers, shoes, boots, sandals of leather, wood, or cork. The streets, as yet unpaved and muddy, encouraged pattens, which, as time went on, became an object of luxury, and sometimes reached the height of a metre and a half, and led not infrequently to dangerous falls. The government accordingly stepped in, and in 1430 forbade the use of these exaggerated pattens, in view of the fact that women with child, if they fell, might seriously injure themselves,

[1] Sansovino, *Dial. di tutte le cose notabili che sono in Venetia*, etc. Venetia, 1561. The *centureri* had their shops near the Merceria di San Giuliano.

[2] In the inventory of the Doge Lorenzo Celsi's gems (1366), published by Cecchetti (*La Vita*, etc., p. 121), we find recorded certain *cruzete auree*, adorned with sapphires, pearls, rubies, emeralds, balas rubies, and a silver seal with a coat of arms, many jewels, with pearls, a quantity of rings with diamonds, turquoises, and other gems, a silver chatelaine *cum curadente, unum pironem argenteum cum manico de zaspo.*

[3] Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger* (*Zeitschrift für Romanische Phil.*, Vol. VII).

and might give birth to *filios abortivos in perditione corporis et animae suae.*[1]

The poem attributed to Sanguinacci, already quoted, thus describes Venetian women:

Con atti adorni, assai politi e belli,
Le donne vedi andar con tal maniera
e con la fresca ziera
che 'l par che le vegna del Paradiso.

Le vanno liete con polito viso
con ricchi fermaretti in su la spalla
le veste che non calla
d'oro, de seda e recami de perle.

O dio, quanto piazere è da vederle
a qualche festa, talor più che zento
con tanto adornamento
le par reine de gran conti nate.

Le fodre de lor veste sbardellate,
martori vedo, e vari, e armelini
che val tanti fiorini
che farìa guerra a Troia, se ancor fosse.

This love of sumptuous dress[2] gave an impetus to trade, and the products of every country found a ready

[1] Arch. di Stato, M. C., March 2, 1430.

[2] As a document illustrating the luxury of the early Renaissance, see the description of the trousseau of Lucrezia Contarini, engaged to Jacopo Foscari in 1441 (Corner, Fl., *Opuscula quattuor*, etc., p. 167. Venetiis, 1758). The bride had among other dresses a gown of gold brocade with short sleeves, another of cloth-of-gold fringed with crimson and with open sleeves, lined with vair, with a train a yard and a half long, another with a gold and purple ground lined with ermine, another with sleeves reaching to the ground, called *arlotte*, in watered silk brocade, and so on. There is also mention of a hair comb with great pearls, and a shoulder brooch with a great diamond, pearls and balas rubies, worth three thousand five hundred ducats. — Doglioni (*Le cose not. di Venezia*, p. 20. Venetia, MDCLXXI) cites the following note, taken from the books of the Ufficio del Proprio: "1495. Luca di Sier Lorenzo dalla tela, pagamento di mobili di casa: Una veste pavonazza da donna con maniche a cortelazzo — Un barbazon de carisea bianca ricamato a guazzaroni — Una vestura di scarlato con pianete d'argento con una filza di perle al collaro — Una vestura verde con campanelle d'argento, brazzoni e centurino verde — Una

Venetian Costume (XV century) — detail
of a picture by Carpaccio in the Academy

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market in Venice. Stuffs that came from Ormuz in Persia were called *ormesini*, and Damascus gave its name to *damaschi*. From France came the cloth called *mostaroli* (Montreuil, *Monsterelium*), *stanforti* (*estames*), *rasi* (from Arras), *santomei* (from Saint Omer).[1] Other webs were brought in large quantities from Florence, Milan, Monza, Verona, Vicenza, Padua; while Armenian velvet was highly appreciated, especially in the fourteenth century. A stuff much in vogue was *camelotto* (Arabic *kheml*, *khemla*); it was woven from camels' or goats' hair and had a woolly surface. It was made chiefly in Cyprus, at Famagosta and Nicosia.[2] There were also the coarse stuffs used by the people, called *schiavine* (from Slavonia) and *rasse* (from Rascia[3] or Servia). In this abundance of stuffs the trade of dressmaking flourished. In the thirteenth century it was divided into two branches, — the *sartori da veste* and the doublet makers, *zuparii*, *magistri de zupis et de coopertoribus*, whose business was confined to making jupons and bed hangings.[4] There were also the furriers (*varoteri* or *pelizeri d'ovra vera*, *peliparii operis vaire*) and the pelisse-makers.

veste pavonazza a maniche aperte — Una veste morella a maniche aperte fodrata di armellini da donna — Una veste pavonazza a maniche a comeo — Una veste da donna morella sotto cappa con friso d'argenteria al cavezzo ed alle maniche — Un capuccio di scarlatto." See Appendix, Documents C, n. VIII. The inventory of the property of the patrician Giorgio Ruzzini (1453).

[1] Milani, *Sei tavolette cerate scoperte in una antica torre di Casa Maiorfi in Firenze*. Firenze, 1877.

[2] Munstero, in his *Cosmografia universale*, speaking of the island of Cyprus, writes thus: "Ex pilis etiam caprarum pannus conficitur, cui *zambellottum* hodie nomen est."

[3] The black cloth called *rascie* was used in later times to cover the felze of the gondola. The stuff was sold in a calle which comes out on the Riva degli Schiavoni and is still called *calle delle rasse*.

[4] Cecchetti, *La Vita*, etc., p. 66.

From the eleventh century onwards lapels and collars of lambskin or lynx were in common use; while sables, fox skins, pole-cat, marten, vair, and ermine were all highly prized, and were made up with gold fittings. In fact these dresses represented so high a value that they were frequently left by will for the adornment of churches, or passed as heirlooms from one generation to another, which accounts for the frequent repetition of the word *uxade* (second-hand) in inventories.[1]

But notwithstanding this superfluity of stuffs, of gold, of gems, this sumptuousness of dress, this costly change of fashion, it is remarkable that we find but slight reference to body or household linen. From certain phrases we gather that it was not the custom to change the under garments often; for instance, a chemise must have been an object of luxury if, in 1307, a certain Sofia Barbarigo leaves "*una* delle soe camese nove a dona Reni et *una* a dona Donado."[2] Again Giovanni Dandolo, of the parish of Santa Marina, leaves, in 1320, to his wife Caterina many chests containing linen, veils, shawls, and his bed "con II coltre una

[1] The will of Doge Rinieri Zeno, dated July 7, 1268 (Arch. di Stato, Procuratori di S. Marco *de Citra*, B[a] 239) has the following passage: "*Pellem nostram meliorem ad aurum* dimittimus Ecclesiae Sancti Marci in hac forma, ut inde fieri debeat Pluviale pro Primiceriis ejus Ecclesiae." In the will of Lucia, wife of the Doge Marco Barbarigo, who died in 1496, we read: "Dimitto Dominae Margaritae priorissae hospetalis omnium sanctorum de Muriano meam vestem de saia novam et ducatos quinque, aliam vero vestem meam cum cappa magna dimitto duabus filiabus meis monialibus." Arch. di Stato, Sez. Notarile, Atti Rizzo Cristoforo (186-I), July 16, 1496. Jacopo d'Albizzotto Guidi describes the richness of the men's dress, made of silk or scarlet cloth, lined in winter with marten, sable, or lynx, in summer with ermine or vair.

[2] Arch. di Stato, Sez. Notarile, *Test. di Sofia ved. di Marco Barbarigo*, cit.

a scaioni et l'otra blancha et con II apera [pair] de ninzoli."[1] The chemises embroidered in gold and silver (*inlistatae da collo et da mano de auro batudo*)[2] mentioned in inventories can have been worn only on great occasions to show up through the slashings of the dress. We have record, however, of drawers, which are commonly supposed to have come in with the cinquecento only.[3] Among linen webs in high esteem we find *cambri* (cambric), *renso* (from Rheims), *boccassino*, a plain linen cloth which the Egyptians bleached to such whiteness and fineness of surface that it might be taken for silk. Under this same name of *boccassino* they made in the west a cotton stuff which resembled fustian.[4] Tablecloths and napkins also came into use, and the rich had theirs embroidered with silken borders (*cum capitibus laboratis de seta*).[5] It is certain, however, that cleanliness, comfort, and refinement in the home were lacking. The Venetians, even the less well-to-do, cared only for the outward appearance of luxury, and we get the following mordant verses by a satirist of the trecento:

[1] Arch. di Stato, Sez. Notarile, *Test. di Giovanni Dandolo di Santa Marina*, November, 1320. Rog. Bianco Michele, B^a 1033, reg. s. n.

[2] Bibl. Marciana, *Carta di corredo dotale del 1145* (Cl. VII, Cod. DLI, c. 67a and c. 189a).

[3] It is affirmed that the earliest mention of drawers is to be found in the trousseaus of 1582 (Verga, E., *Le leggi sunt. e la decadenza dell' industria a Milano*, p. 21. Milano, 1900). But in 1300, in a codicil to a will, we find that the priest Marco Navagero leaves to his niece Lena *tuti so drapi de doso* et soe mutande *et soe zoiete* (published by Bertanza and Lazzarini, op. cit., p. 15). In an inventory of 1308 (see Documents C, *Inventorii*, n. II) we find "*par I mutandarum.*" In inventories of the fifteenth century *mudande* are constantly mentioned (see Appendix, ibid., *Invent.*, n. XII).

[4] Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, ed. franç., Vol. II, pp. 702, 703, 705. Leipzig, 1886. — Gay, *Gloss.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

[5] See Appendix, *Invent. del Doge Dandolo.*

Tale che porta in doso gli ermelini
e di zendado vano foderatti
ch'e fitti lor anchor no son paghatti
non àno in casa pan nè i' botte vini;

non s'`no da mutar lor pani lini,
e cho' mantegli vanno dimezatti;
porton solete chalzertti (sic),
tal che impegna borse e choltelini.

Po' volgo chartta e torno a lor mogliere:
con quatro aneli vano inanelate,
chè bastere' se foson chavaliere;

chi le mirase soto inpingniolate,
le lor chamicie sono assai più nere
che no le more quando è ben morate;

empionsi il corpo di pome è di pere,
tuto quel ano non fano buchate.[1]

The temptations of luxury wrought a change in ancestral simplicity, and the government at length began to grow anxious. On May 2, 1299, the Great Council appointed a commission of twenty-seven members, who passed sumptuary regulations, especially as regards wedding ceremonies.[2] The number of guests and presents was limited; the bride was not allowed to have more than four dresses in her trousseau; each dress was to be composed of petticoat, gown, and mantle, nor might she embroider her wedding gown with pearls beyond the value of twenty *soldi di grossi*. No one might wear embroideries above the value of five *lire di piccoli*, and pearl headdresses (*drezadori*) were forbidden, as likewise gold or amber buttons (*cavezature*) on the

[1] *Sonetto fato per Viniziani per mano di maestro Antonio Beccari da Ferrara* (Bibl. Riccardiana di Firenze, Cod. 1103, c. 126 b).

[2] Foucard published the documents (*Statuto inedit. delle nozze Venez.*, Venezia, 1858), and Monticolo has reëdited them more accurately in the *Capitolari*, etc., p. 189.

edges of the dress if they cost more than ten *soldi di grossi*. No one was allowed to possess more than two pelisses of vair, or one fur mantle lined with taffeta.[1] Some years later (1334) restrictions were laid on the extravagance in dress, on the embroideries of gold, on the use of pearls, of rare furs, of long trains, precious girdles and chatelaines that hung from them.[2] In 1360 all Venetian women were forbidden to wear *bochetam* or other gems, or silver girdles above the value of twenty ducats; reticules embroidered with pearls, rouge pots of gold or silver, pearl or mother-of-pearl, were illegal, and a woman's whole outfit was not to cost more than forty *lire di grossi*.[3] As to the males, boys under twelve might not wear gold, silver, pearls, velvet, vair, ermine, and so on; youths from twelve to twenty-five were allowed belts, provided they did not exceed the value of twenty-five ducats.[4] Other provisions restrained display in mournings.[5] The Senate continued to issue edicts modifying or condensing their previous laws and always attacking the vanity of women. Now they would limit a bride's dresses to the value of two hundred ducats[6]; now they would absolutely forbid robes of cloth-of-gold or silver,[7] linings of gold, silver, or brocade,[8] pelisses of marten, ermine, or lynx.[9] In 1440 long trains were forbidden, but all in

[1] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Fractus*, p. 94, May 2, 1299.
[2] Law of 1334 (Senato, *Misti*), quoted by Romanin, Vol. III, p. 347.
[3] Arch. di Stato, Avogaria del Comun, *Deliberazioni*, reg. P, fol. 4 t°, May 21, 1360.
[4] Arch. di Stato, loc. cit.
[5] Ibid., Senato, *Misti*, reg. 24, p. 91, August 7, 1348.
[6] Ibid., ibid., reg. 55, p. 102, March 29, 1425.
[7] Ibid., Senato, *Terra*, reg. 3, p. 193 t, February 23, 1455, M. V.
[8] Ibid., ibid., reg. 6, p. 196 t, February 20, 1472, M. V.
[9] Ibid., ibid., reg. 10, p. 184 t, December 10, 1489.

vain; nay, the women invented a certain kind of gold and jewelled loop[1] for holding them up, and Mauro Lapi in his letter to the Doge, already cited, recommends *ne mulieres tam longas caudas in vestimentis habeant, et per terram trahant, quae res diabolica est.*

The most important provisions were those taken in September and November of 1476. On October 4, 1476, the Milanese ambassador, Leonardo Botta, wrote to Duke Sforza that the Venetian people had reached *tanta lasività di pompa che le done non sarieno comparse se non tenessero ad minus tanto atorno zoye et frappe per V^m (5000) ducati;* the Republic therefore, on September 18 of that year, had published a decree *circha el moderare de le spese.* This decree, which Botta quotes in its most important points, forbade costly embroideries of gold and pearls, and limited the value of jewels, chains, rings, and belts.[2] A further decree of November, 1476, prohibited the use of silver or other embroidery, also point lace worked with gold or silver thread, all dresses or ornaments that had pearls or gems "excepto una colladena per la vesta over sula zorneda, non portando cappa," but not above the value of five hundred ducats. There were the most minute instructions on the subject of buttons and *pianette* of gold, silver, or silk, about robes of cloth-of-gold, of satin, or of damask, about chains of the precious metals, about gems, pearls, cushions, curtains, bed-quilts, and counterpanes made of cloth-of-gold, cloth-of-silver, brocade, velvet, satin, taffeta, richly embroidered in gems and pearls.[3] The Doge, his wife and kinsfolk, were, *pro*

[1] Rossi, *Racc. Cost.*, Vol. III.

[2] Motta, E., *Spigolature dell' Archivio di Stato Milanese* (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXVI, p. 244).

[3] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Regina*, p. 160, November 17, 1476.

Venetian Costumes (XV century) — details of a picture by Carpaccio in the Academy

Confidential

honore ducatus, exempt from the action of these laws, but this exception only contributed to render the laws abortive; they were always eluded by a thousand wiles and artifices. The State even came down to actual details of tailoring, but ended by achieving nothing. For if excessive luxury is unworthy of a strong and active race it does not lie with the government to correct it by legislating directly on the subject. The only result was an open or a latent rebellion against the sumptuary laws of an executive famed for its rigid insistence on the observation of its regulations. The government, by forbidding what it could not prevent, imperilled its prestige. The officers of State undertook personally to denounce transgressions, but to no purpose. For example, the Avogadori di Comun, one Sunday in Carnival, noted that the wife of the patrician Giovanni Zorzi was wearing a dress of white silk with sleeves and collar of illegal cut; they declared both the dressmaker and the lady to have incurred the penalties contained in the law of 1400. A similar fate befell the wife of Pietro Contarini of San Pantaleone in 1401.[1] In 1437 the Patriarch Lorenzo Giustinian endeavoured to curb the luxury of the women, and, under pain of excommunication, he ordered that "tutte le donne non dovessero portar seda e drezza, e code de veste, nè oro nè argento nè perle in testa, e slonghino li maneghetti."[2] But the patrician dames presented two petitions to the Pope, one from Cristina Correr, the other from Felicia and Benedetta Donà and other noble ladies, begging leave, for the honour of their caste, the reverence due to their parents and their own beauty, to

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Avogaria del Comun*, Deliberazioni, Reg. A, 10, p. 3, February 18, 1400.

[2] *Cron.* quoted by Gallicciolli, Vol. I, p. 406.

wear their gorgeous robes, their jewels, circlets, rings, brooches, sandals, etc.[1] The Pope, on payment of four ducats and one grosso, gave the permission they sought for three years' time, and feminine vanity, which has ever been too strong for the law, won the day.

[1] Monticolo, *Capitolari*, pp. 189 et seq.

CHAPTER X

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

THE changes in fashions and in costume recorded in the last chapter indicate and illustrate the changes and transformations in manners and customs.

There was an old tradition, accepted by some writers, which serves to mark the simple ideas of the earlier Venetians. It is said that in the very first years of the Republic the people, under Daulo Tribuno, decreed that all Venetians should follow the same modest mode of life and dress.[1] But gradually Byzantine habits, without their effeminacy, however, became universal, not merely in dress, but also in the customs of daily life, and held their own longer in the Venetian lagoon than in any other part of Italy. Greek princesses came to Venice as brides of Venetian nobles. Venetian patricians were frequently invited to the Byzantine court, and Eastern civilisation was gradually introduced and modified customs and manners. The wife of the Doge Domenico Selvo (1071), daughter of an emperor of Constantinople, and the last Greek princess who came to Venice, brought from her home modes of life which left a profound impression upon her contemporaries, for she surpassed all they had ever seen or heard of in the way of luxury. The princess bathed in scented waters, sprinkled her body with perfumes, and dipped

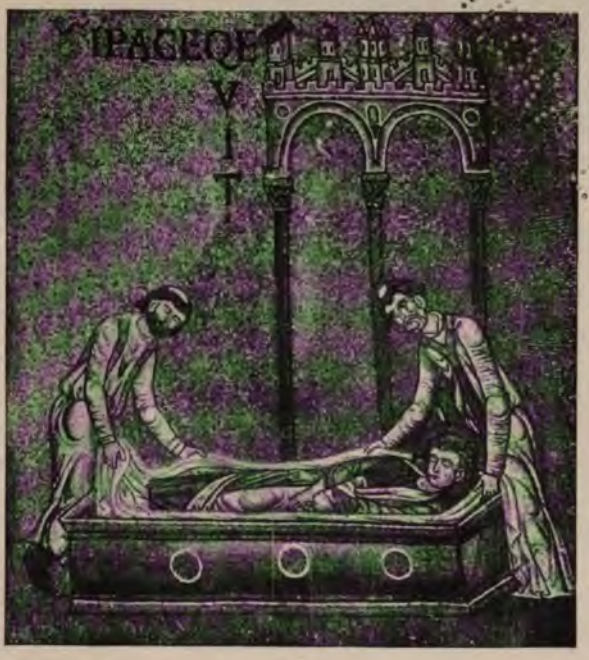
[1] Doglioni, *Hist. Ven.* Venetia, 1598.

her face in morning dew, which was collected for her by slaves. She never touched her food with her fingers, but had it cut for her by her eunuchs and carried it to her mouth by a sort of golden two-pronged fork, *quibusdam fuscinulis aureis atque bidentibus* — as San Pier Damian tells us in a passage wherein he bursts forth in bitter invective against the luxurious habits of the Dogaressa.[1] The Venetians themselves looked on her conduct as sinful, and the terrible disease of which she died was considered as a judgment from heaven. But though Venice condemned, in the person of the Greek princess, Byzantine splendour, corruption, and laxity, the Venetians none the less assimilated the art, costume, and habits of the Eastern capital. Oriental manners infected Venetian customs even in the rites of the Church. Baptism was by immersion[2]; and it was not administered till comparatively late, even after several years had elapsed; communion was given in both kinds and it was forbidden to celebrate twice in the same day upon the same altar.[3] Gallicciolli thinks that the custom of several priests assisting at extreme unction (*oliare*) was also derived from the Greeks. The dying persons were laid upon the floor, which was covered with ashes, while the bell

[1] Damiani, Petri, *Opera Inst. Monialis*, T. III, Cap. XI. The fork, called in Venetian *piròn*, was introduced from Greece. The Greek word *πείρειν* (to pierce) and the late Greek word *πειρούνιον* (a fork) prove it. See Flecchia, *Postilla etimologica* (*Arch. Glottologico*, Vol. II, pp. 313–317. 1873).

[2] In San Giacomo dall' Orio is a marble holy water basin which seems at one time to have served as a font in the days of immersion. The font of SS. Maria e Donato at Murano is of great beauty. It is cut in a square block of Greek granite and appears originally to have been a Roman tomb. It was brought from Altino, probably in the seventh century. The funeral inscription was left intact and has been reproduced by Mommsen.

[3] Gallicciolli, Vol. III, pp. 3, 6, 8.



(A)

(B)

A — Burial customs — from the "Fatti dei SS. Filippo e Giacomo" (mosaic of S. Marco, XIII century). B — Sepulchral urn of General Jacopo Cavalli (1384), by Paolo di Jacobello delle Masegne. (Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo)

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summoned the faithful and in the street they chanted the "Miserere" and other psalms.[1] Down to the twelfth century tombs were placed in church porticoes. Later on, the government permitted great personages to be buried in the church itself, which thus came to be adorned with magnificent sepulchral monuments. As is the custom still in the East, while the body was being lowered into the grave all the relations gave vent to shrill cries and tore their hair. Almost immediately after death the corpse was carried to the tomb, wrapped in a sheet or in matting covered with cloth. Neither silk nor other precious material was used for cerecloth except for those who in life had held public offices.[2] In the early days even the Doge was buried without pomp the day after he died. It was only in 1361, on the death of Giovanni Dolfin, that the body of the prince, with golden spurs, baton, and shield, lay in state for the first time in the Hall of the Signori di Notte, while the Dogaressa and a train of ladies went down into Saint Mark's, where they remained an hour in prayer.[3]

[1] Gallicciolli, Vol. II, pp. 325, 326.

[2] "... Quod tam pro bono animarum quam pro evitandis expensis inordinatis et inutilibus aliqua persona deinceps sive masculus sive femina, non portetur ad sepulturam, nec sepeliatur vestita in habitu silicet seculari, alio silicet quam de cilicio, seu stamegna, vel alio habitu minoris valoris, sub pena librarum L. parvorum pro qualibet persona portata vel sepulta contra premissa; quam penam solvere teneantur heredes vel commissarii persone huiusmodi, seu alii vel alie, ad quos eius hereditas vel bona plus spectarent, exceptatis tamen ab hac strictura et ordinatione doctoribus, juristis, militibus et medicis. ... Quod omnes masculi vel femine nunc et de cetero habitatores et habitatrices Veneciarum teneantur ad omnes stricturas et ordines supradictos sicut alii et alie cives. ... Quod Palatium Ducale ab omnibus predictis stricturis et ordinibus ac consultis per sapientes, protinus sit exemptum. ..." (Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Misti*, reg. 16, p. 70, June 20, 1334.)

[3] Sansovino, *Venetia*, Lib. XI, p. 489.

But contact with the effeminate habits of the East did not sap the vigour of the hardy Adriatic seafolk, who were ever called upon and ready to overcome the resistance of nature or to face a human foe.

In the dawn of civic life at Rialto hardihood in adventure went hand in hand with simple faith and austere habits. Every class of citizen, from the Doge to the humblest fisherman, attended midnight services. Early in the morning the people were called to work by the sound of a bell called the *marangona*, so named after the carpenters, or *marangoni*, the most numerous class of artisans in the city, especially at that period, when most of the houses were built of wood. At nine o'clock and at midday the sound of a bell again summoned the labourers to a modest meal; and three hours after sundown every one was housed while the *rialtina* rang out the curfew. The ancient names of kalends, nones, and ides — retained only among the learned — had passed out of use. The year, even in public deeds, began with the first of March (*more Veneto*),[1] and the days of the month were numbered successively from the first to the last. Every day of the year, at the hour for meals, all work came to a standstill, — not a sound was to be heard in the shops, men and women met round the board. The fare was frugal, composed of vegetables, fruit, fish, wild duck, beef, pork, and, above all, kid and wild boar, as is suggested by the vast quantity of their bones found a few feet below the surface. All food was highly spiced.

We have no documentary evidence as to the price of food earlier than the law of Sebastian Ziani (1173)

[1] As an early instance of the year indicated *more Veneto*, we have the will of Orso Partecipazio, Bishop of Olivolo, dated 853. Gallicciolli, Vol. I, p. 434.

which made important provisions as regards butchers, bakers, taverners, poulterers, fishmongers, etc.[1] The scale published by the Doge fixing the maximum prices of food took as its unit the Veronese lira, a little less than the Italian lira. We find that wine of whatever kind, except Greek wines, cost two soldi the *libbra*,[2] beef also two soldi the *libbra;* a thousand *libbre* of oil cost twenty-five lire. Among the fish mentioned we get the sturgeon, the trout, the ray, which cost three and a half soldi the *libbra;* tench and dried pike cost three soldi; other fish — gudgeon (*go*), tench (*megla*), red mullet (*barbone*), the scorpene or sea-scorpion (*scarpena*), gurnard (*lucerna*), gray mullet (*variolo* or *brancino*), dory (*orata*), flounders (*passera*), soles (*sogliola*), eels (*anguilla*), pike (*luccio*), carp (*cavedagno*) — cost two soldi and a half the *libbra*. Corn cost from sixteen to seventeen soldi the bushel (*staio*), wine twenty soldi the barrel, and four hundred eggs fetched twenty soldi.[3]

Within the narrow circuit of the lagoon and in spite of their simple and modest manner of life, the quiet was frequently broken by internal broils or by the bustle of departure on venturous voyages or martial enterprises. While the men were at sea or in the field the women passed the interval between the agony of farewell and the joy of the return in tending the

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Duc.*, B° 6. The statute was published by Dr. C. Trevisanato (Ven., tip. del Commercio, 1862) and more accurately by Monticolo in the *Miscellanea* of the Deputazione Veneta della Storia Patria, Vol. XII, p. 81. Venezia, 1892.

[2] The *Capitolare* of the Coopers' Guild (Monticolo, *Capitolari*, etc., p. 152) gives us much information as to the capacity of casks in use in Venice of the thirteenth century. The measures were fixed by government for purposes of customs and lading.

[3] *Liber Plegiorum*, Regesti published by Predelli, n. 7, 28, 152, 217, 328, 335, 450, 564, 710.

swept over Europe, stirring all hearts, touching the intellect and modifying manners and customs. When entire nations took the Cross for the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre, martial valour, which till then had been rude and fierce, was tempered by more gentle emotions, and in those ranks of men clad in mail the religious sentiment mingled with the impulses of a chivalry which not only brought into the human mind the softening grace of new ideals, but enjoined the duty of protecting the weak. Woman appeared in a halo of poetry; and on the plains of Syria and under the walls of the mystic Sion religious fervour went hand in hand with the gracious vision of a woman which accompanied the crusader through the perils of the field.

The Venetians during the Crusades shared the dangers of battle and the glories of victory with the most renowned knights of Europe, but, already strong in civic virtues, felt no need to insure courtesy and chivalrous conduct by law; and to them it seemed a strange thing that men who donned the coat of mail and girded on the sword of a cavalier should be required to take an oath to defend the rights of the weak against the strong, and to protect women and children from danger and outrage. The Eastern temperament, ever strange and fantastic, enveloped the rules of chivalry with a novel charm, though they could never have been without effect upon the Venetians, who during the Crusades not only sailed the seas, traded, and founded colonies, but inevitably widened their horizon and brought home ideas that were helpful to the arts.

Venice after the Crusades assumes a new aspect. The ancient social structure disappears, the national outlook embraces a wider scope, private life becomes refined. For though it is true that the crusading spirit

was not received with enthusiasm in Venice, still it did not, as many hold, find mere indifference; the Venetians were profoundly moved by the spectacle of such multitudes of men inspired by a sentiment which sent them to suffer, fight, and perish for an ideal. As a matter of fact, we find a hospital on the Giudecca for the housing of pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem as early as the tenth century, and another on the island of Sant' Elena in the eleventh; a third at Castello, and a fourth on the island of San Clemente. The government granted shelter to the warrior monks who fought for the Holy Land, and the Knights Templars established a hospice for them near the church of the Ascension; the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem had another at San Giovanni Battista dei Friulani, while a third was opened by the Teutonic order at the Santissima Trinità. But the Venetians lent a still more powerful support to the Crusaders by joining arms with them in the reigns of the Doges Vitale Michiel, Ordelafo Falier, and Domenico Michiel, and proved again and again that Venice was inspired not merely by commercial greed but also by religious fervour.[1] To be sure, the Venetians never forgot their commercial and political interests in their zeal for the faith; they intended to secure for themselves a market in every corner of the globe. But their so-called egoism displayed itself in a profound attachment to their country and their race; and these greedy hucksters, these selfish adventurers — as they are sometimes unjustly called — had at bottom a genuine belief in objects high and serious; the merchant not seldom became a hero. And so it was that while the Venetians lent their potent aid to the Crusaders, they never stifled the trading instinct, they never neglected to enlarge their borders.

[1] Sagredo, *La Repubblica di Venezia*, pp. 64 et seq. Padova, 1887.

These lords of the sea knew how to wed the passion of Christianity to commercial enterprise, and welded the aspirations of the faith with the interests of their country, proving by their action not only how vain and sterile is an idealism which consumes itself in morbid dreams, but also that the mere production of riches will lead to ruin unless it be tempered, legalised, almost we would say sanctified, by the serene and life-giving breath of the ideal. So true is it that the universal religious movement exercised a powerful influence on this cautious nation of merchants, that Venice has even been accused of bigotry, as being the slave of a sort of official superstition of a quite peculiar kind, which led the State to pay high prices for the bodies of saints and other relics, and the Doge to receive them in solemn procession.[1] As a matter of fact, the Venetian fleet, which in 1097 had been acting with the Crusaders in Syrian waters, brought back, the following year, from Myra the remains of San Niccolò, and the translation of the relics to the church on the *lido* was recognised by the people as a festival which conferred an honour on the State. In 1105, when the body of San Stefano was brought to Venice, the Doge Ordelafo Falier took the coffer containing the holy relics on his shoulders and devoutly carried it to his own boat. So, too, in 1125, the Doge Domenico Michiel, on his return from the Holy Land, brought to Venice the body of Sant' Isidore, the martyr of Chios. It is impossible, even for the most hostile critic of Venice, to believe that such acts of piety were always and everywhere inspired merely by the political acumen of those rulers of the State, from whose number, by the way, came Gerardo Sagredo, who in 1047 met

[1] Burckhardt, *La Civiltà del Rinascimento*. tr. Vol. I, p. 99. Firenze, 1876.

martyrdom in Hungary, and won the honours of the altar.

Amid the stress of business or the clash of arms there were many who sought the quiet of the cloister. We hear of whole families abandoning the world to assume the monastic habit; for example, in 1184, Manfredo de Gonzo, his wife, and his son Albert took a vow to follow the instructions of Priest John, agent for the Abbess of San Zaccaria, and after granting the family estate to the monastery they became lay members of the Community.[1] The churches raised by private generosity were frequently handed over to some conventual establishment "cum totis thesauris magnis vel parvis, sive aurum, argentum, aere, ferrum, palios sericos vel laneos, atque lineos de altaribus, quam de silcis seu de mapulas, et cuncta omnia sanctorum, etiam libros divinos diurnales atque nocturnales."[2] Donations to monasteries were of common occurrence for many years; occasionally entire estates were ceded to them, as in the case of Leonardo Michiel, son of the Doge Vitale II, by his will, dated August, 1184, drawn up by Domenico Arduino, parish priest of San Giovanni Evangelista. Michiel made the Abbess of San Zaccaria, Casotta, and her successors executrices of the deed; he constituted the abbess heiress of his personalty to the value of eight hundred and fifty lire, and to the convent, where he desired to be buried, for the benefit of his own soul and those of his wife, his father, and his relations, he left his vineyards, salt pans, lands, waters, all his

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Ind. gen. dell' Arch. di San Zaccaria*, February 27, and April 12, 1184.

[2] Ibid., Chiesa di San Luca, Catastico di San Benedetto, n. 3, 1013, C. I. — Giovanni and Domenico, sons of Martino Falier, give to the Monastery of the Blessed Michele Arcangelo in Brondolo the church of San Benedetto on the Canal of Rialto (February, 1013).

freehold property in Chioggia.[1] It was a common thing for a testator to devise a sum of money for *luminaria ecclesiae*[2] over and above the tithe of his property which it was the custom to leave to pious objects and for the benefit of the clergy.[3] Many wills express the hope that on the Judgment Day the souls of donors will reap the benefit of gifts left to the church[4] *ad pios usus Ecclesiae et pauperum.*[5] Nor are instances rare in which a widow would receive her widow's weeds from the hands of a priest and with religious ceremonies, taking the vow of perpetual chastity, and retiring forever into a little cell either in the roof or over the portico of some church where she would spend the remainder of her days in mortifying the flesh by fasting and penance.[6] Such women were called *recluse* or *romite*, and gradually came to form the corporations known as *pinzocchere*, who accompanied the dead to the grave.[7] There were many of these hermitages in the city, and we find them attached to the churches of San Giovanni Evangelista, San Maurizio, Sant' Agnese, San Samuele, Santa Margherita, SS. Gervasio e Protasio, San Boldo, Santi Apostoli, San Cassiano, Santa Maria Nuova, San Francesco della Vigna, and Sant' Angelo.[8] In the same way religion was frequently bound up with superstition, and the

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Ind. gen. del mon. di S. Zaccaria, Test. Leg. Comm.*, p. 85.

[2] Gallicciolli, Vol. II, p. 192.

[3] As an instance, see the will of Angelo Pesaro (1309) published by Sagredo in his book on the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, Milano, 1860.

[4] Baracchi, *Carte del 1000 e del 1100 trascr. dall' Archivio Notarile (Arch. Veneto*, T. XX, p. 327).

[5] Corner, Fl., *Eccl. Venetae*, Decas III, p. 400. Venetiis, MDCXXXIX.

[6] Gallicciolli, Vol. II, p. 1785.

[7] Mutinelli, *Del Costume Veneto*, p. 39. Venezia, 1831.

[8] Corner, Fl., op. cit.

Attitudes of Prayer.
("Opus penitentiale"
— State Archives)

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various forms of praying, the postures assumed, were supposed to affect the efficacy of the prayer.[1] But in Venice, unlike other cities, mysticism and religious superstition were not allowed to debase the mind, for the Venetian government, ever cautious and watchful, took care to moderate the impulses of the heart or of the imagination by the dictates of common sense; it encouraged religious zeal, it is true, but it also held in check that exaltation which might have led its citizens to forget the true interests of their country.

The Republic not only placed a limit on the number of the churches and monasteries, but blending the obligations towards their country and their God, when the war of Chioggia was raging in 1379, it called on all the friars who were by law liable for guard duty at the Ducal Palace to take up arms against the foe. The friars refused, and pleaded their vows, and were thereupon at once expelled from the State.[2] Those very Doges who received with profound piety the relics of saints, those same statesmen who took every care to foster religion, loved their country and their families above all, fought for their freedom, and looked upon a man as mad who thirsted for suffering and martyrdom, who craved for pain and intoxicated himself by the sharpness of his agony.

Venice did not escape the presence of those companies of flagellants which sprang up everywhere in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; nay, the very earliest Guilds of Devotion were called *scholae battutorum* because the brothers lashed themselves with scourges and certain instruments called *scopae*, known later on as "disci-

1 Arch. di Stato, *Opus penitentiale Petri Pictaviensis*. Cod. of twelfth century in the Sala Diplomatica Regina Margherita.

2 Gallicciolli, Vol. II, p. 1812.

plines."[1] But such aberrations of mysticism were sternly checked by the government, who would not permit, except on very special occasions, the spectacle of processions passing through the streets to the chant of hymns and prayers, and the furious lashing of bare backs. *Hoc factum est in omnibus aliis civitatibus, praeterquam Venetiis sapientibus*, so writes Girolamo da Forlì. And in 1399, when the processions of the Bianchi, men and women dressed in white with faces veiled, chanting litanies and orisons, reached Venice under the protection of the Florentine Dominican Giovanni Domenichi, afterward cardinal and beatified, of the priest Leonardo Pisani and the patrician Antonio Soranzo, the Signory forbade the lugubrious sight, and the constable of the Council of Ten, meeting the procession at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, snatched from the hands of the leader the crucifix and, as a chronicler reports, *rompè le brace del Crucifisso e desfece la processione*. Domenichi, Pisani, and Soranzo were banished.[2]

Charity found fervid apostles in Venice, such as the blessed Pietro Acotanto (d. 1187), who reduced himself to beggary by giving all he had to the poor.[3] The helpless received support from the charitable, and in 977 an hospital was erected in the Piazza di San Marco. This was followed by many others; some were called *Case di Dio* and were destined to shelter pilgrims; others were open to the poor and the infirm. In 1312 the citizen Naticliero Cristian erected an asylum for twenty infirm paupers; it stood near the Calle del

[1] An enormous "discipline" is carved above the door of the Hospital of the Battuti at Serravalle, in the province of Treviso.

[2] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, Vol. VI, p. 141.

[3] Corner, Fl., op. cit., Decas I, p. 97.

Attitudes of Prayer.
("Opus penitentiale"
— State Archives)

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Morion at San Francesco della Vigna; about 1343 a pious friar, the Franciscan Pieruzzo of Assisi, begging from door to door, gathered enough money to hire some houses for the shelter of foundlings. Soon after, he opened another institution at San Giovanni in Bragora, which exists to this day under the title of *della Pietà*. In 1357 Bartolomeo Verde built a hospital for fallen women who wished "redire ad penitenciam et contricionem."[1] In every detail of life the greatness and the gentleness of this people, so unjustly judged by a celebrated chronicler, Fra Salimbene of Parma, in the thirteenth century, make themselves apparent. "Veneti," writes Salimbene, "avari homines sunt et tenaces et superstitiosi, et totum mundum vellent subiugare sibi, si possent; et rusticiter tractant mercatores qui vadunt ad eos, et care vendendo, et multa passagia in diversis locis in suo districtu ab eisdem personis eodem tempore accipiendo."[2] And yet these rude, avaricious, grasping, superstitious people accept new ideas, are not insensible to love and pleasure, readily adapt themselves to a mode of life very different from that of their early years to which they had been so long accustomed. The courteous usages of chivalry found a congenial soil in the blithe nature and soft speech of the Venetians, and Venetian knights learned to break a lance for their mistress's eyes, and to wear the colours of her who conferred the guerdon. The women readily appeared in public and joined in parties of pleasure, seeking amusement and listening with satisfaction to the songs and music of their youthful lovers, to their *serventesi* and *tenzoni* and *cobbole* learned from troubadours of France.

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Gr.*, XIII, c. 6 (October 5, 1352).

[2] Salimbene, Parm. ord. min., *Chron.*, p. 252. Parma, 1857.

As at Treviso, in the *Marca Amorosa*, this new zeal for culture and refinement was illumined by the figures of noble ladies such as Cunizza da Romano and Gaia da Camino, daughter of the *buon Gherardo*, made immortal in Dante's verse,[1] so at Venice new and graceful habits of life were introduced by noble foreign ladies who came to wed Venetian patricians. The Doge Ordelafo Falier (1102–1116) had as wife Matilda, cousin of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem. Two sons of the Doge Vitale Michiel II (1156–1172), Leonardo Count of Ossero and Niccolò Count of Arbe, married, the one the daughter of the Prince of Servia, the other Maria a niece of King Stephen of Hungary. After the fall of Constantinople we have the marriage of the Doge Pietro Ziani with Costanza, daughter of Tancred, King of Sicily; also the wedding of a niece of the dead Doge Enrico Dandolo with Maganipan, Ban of Servia. A little later another Sicilian princess came to Venice. Pietro Ziani was succeeded in 1229 by Jacopo Tiepolo, who had, by his wife

[1] Cunizza, sister of Ezzelino da Romano, wedded in 1222 Rizzardo of Sambonifacio; she fled from her husband's house with her lover, the troubadour Sordello di Goito. Then she left Sordello and fled with a Trevisan noble, called Bonio. Cunizza ended her days in Tuscany, in penitence for her light loves, devoted to charity and to prayer, and Dante places her among the beatified. Gaia da Camino, too, enjoys no good repute. First comes Jacopo della Lana, who, glossing a verse in Dante's *Purgatorio*, XVI, 140, whose meaning is obscure, declares that Gaia *fu donna di tale reggimento circa le delettazioni amorose, ch'era notorio il suo nome in tutta Italia*. And Benvenuto da Imola doubles the dose: "Ista erat enim famosissima in tota Lombardia, ita quod ubique dicebatur de ea: Mulier quidem vere Gaia et Vana; et ut breviter dicam, *Tarvisina tota amorosa*; quae dicebat domino Rizzardo fratri suo: Procura tantum mihi juvenes procos amorosos, et ego procurabo tibi puellas formosas. Multa jocosa sciens praeterea de foemina ista, quae dicere pudor prohibet." Many commentators repeat the words of Jacopo of Benvenuto; many others, on the contrary, declare Gaia to have been not only of surpassing beauty but also the very mirror of virtue. Her fame has recently been vindicated on the authority of documents. See Marchesan, *Gaia da Camino nei doc. trevisani*, etc. Treviso, 1904.

Maria Storlato, three sons: Pietro, who, as Podestà of Milan, led the troops of the second Lombard League at Cortenova, was defeated and perished miserably in Apulia; Lorenzo, Count of Veglia, elected Doge later on; and Giovanni, Count of Cherso and Ossero. Jacopo Tiepolo, the Doge, was left a widower in 1242, and married Madonna Valdrada, daughter of Roger, King of Sicily, by whom he had a son and a daughter, and thus the vigorous blood of the Normans was mingled with blood of the Venetian patriciate. Lorenzo Tiepolo, elected Doge in 1268, wedded the daughter of Boemondo of Brienne, King of Servia. This princess was received in Venice with great rejoicings. She exercised a powerful influence over her husband, and sought to increase the family wealth by marriages. For her eldest son, Giacomo, she secured an heiress of Dalmatia, mistress of lands and castles; for her second son, Pietro, an heiress of Vincenza, who brought him vast riches.[1] Foreign sovereigns also sought their wives among Venetian women; a lady of the Dandolo family became Queen of Servia, and about 1276[2] a very beautiful Tommasina Morosini[3] was wedded to the son of Andrew II, King of Hungary, called Stephen, who had been driven from his country. Tommasina had a son, named Andrew after his grandfather, and this youth made good his rights and mounted the Hungarian throne in 1290, bringing back with him his mother,

[1] Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi* (*Rer. It. Script.*, Vol. XXII, p. 563).

[2] Not in 1262, as many historians affirm. Sanudo has the following remark: "Sotto Jacopo Contarini doxe, re Stefano tolse per Mojer madonna Thomasina, fia de Miser Andreaso Morexin." The Doge Contarini reigned from 1275 to 1280.

[3] An inedited chronicle by Donato Contarini is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna (Cod. del Cat. Viennese, MS. 6260, p. 66 t°). Contarini says that Tommasina was "molto bella et spiciosa et de grandissima maniera."

whom he associated with himself in the government. In 1291 the Great Council resolved to send an embassy to escort the queen, and attached to her person Giovanni Correr, procurator of San Marco. When, after the death of King Andrew, Hungary was shaken by revolution, Tommasina returned to Venice and passed the rest of her days in modest retirement in a palace "a San Zulian in la ruga dietro le case del Monasterio di San Zorzi, avanti che si arriva al ponte delle Ballote."[1] She died about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Love, too, which is the most significant guide to the ideas and sentiments of a race, began to assume a new aspect in its chief manifestations, engagement and marriage. The old customs gradually disappeared; the brides were no longer all assembled together in a church; the rites and the customs of the obscure middle ages died away. John the Deacon has left us some account of early princely marriage ceremonies when describing at length the wedding of Giovanni, son of the Doge Pietro Orseoto II, to Maria, daughter of Argiropulos and niece of the Emperors Basil and Constantine at Constantinople, in 1004. The patriarch imparted the benediction in the Imperial Chapel to the pair, who wore golden crowns, the gifts of the two Emperors. On the conclusion of the ceremony, they presented Maria and Giovanni to the court and laid their hands on the heads of the couple. The wedding feast lasted three days, and the Imperial family and the great officers of State were present throughout. But the description of this princely wedding, celebrated according to Byzantine usage, will hardly tell us what were the marriage ceremonies of the Venetians in the

[1] Contarini, Don., del Cat. Viennese, MS. 6260, p.66 t°.

middle ages. Unfortunately we have only a few documents, and none earlier than the twelfth century, which throw a feeble light on this point, The *dies desponsationis*, on which the couple plighted their troth, was clearly distinguished from the *dies nuptiarum*, the wedding day, which was almost always a Sunday, and the ceremony was accompanied by solemn rites, and in the presence of relations and neighbours who brought gifts for the bride. The woman was not always free in the choice of a husband, and very often the engagement was arranged by the father while the bride was yet a child, the father binding himself to supply a fixed dower (*repromissa*). The preliminaries of the contract were arranged by matrimonial agents ; the bridegroom gave, as a pledge to the bride, a ring and pearls, and the fulfilment of the contract was guaranteed by sureties.[1] Besides the dower, which consisted of real and personal property, the bride brought to her husband the *arcella* and in later times the *cofano* and *cassone*, the casket and coffer which contained her jewels and her trousseau, *correda cum gemmis et ornamentis*, her dresses of silk and her linen.[2] The trousseau was shown in public, and the

[1] Besta, Enr., *Gli antichi usi nuziali del Veneto e gli Statuti di Chioggia.* Torino, 1899.

[2] "In nomine Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jehsus Christi. Anno domini millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo sexto mense decembris indictione prima Rivoalto. Testificor ego quidem Conradus manduca caseum de confinio Sancti Moysi, Quod quando desponsavi Mariotam filiam meam in romanum mayrano, dedi sibi unam *arcellam* cum suis ornamentis, valentiem inter totum libras denariorum veronensium quinquaginta. Et in die lune misi sibi pro dono libras denariorum veronensium viginti quinque; scilicet secundum quod rationale fuerunt et valuerunt ille res, quas sibi tunc misi. In pasca misi sibi, pro dono *capitium* unum de auro valentem libras denariorum veronensium quinque: hoc scio et per verum dico testimonium." (Arch. di Stato, Archivio San Zaccaria, *Estere.*) Marriage contracts speak *de omnibus indumentis sericis et lineis et omnibus indumentisque more dantur feminis.* (Ibid., March, 1108, *Quitanza di dote di Pietro Malacia.*)

day after the wedding, at Easter and on the birth of the first child the bride received further presents from her husband and relations. The Venetian *donum dies lunae* was derived from the Lombard *morgengab*, the present the husband gave to the wife *quando primo cognovit eam in coniugio*.[1] The first instance of the *mundio* or *morgengab* in Venice is at the wedding of Gualdrada, sister of the Marquis Ugo of Tuscany, to the Doge Pietro Candiano IV, who gave her, *pro morganationis carta*, the fourth of his estate. The *Statuto* of Chioggia in certain of its clauses, compiled in 1272 and 1291, gives us some curious details of marriage ceremonies. These clauses, which may be considered as the oldest marriage laws of the Veneto, show that the day of the marriage contract was distinct from the day of the solemn *transductio sponse ad domum*. The day before the wedding was observed in a peculiar fashion; the bridegroom made a formal *visitatio* to the bride, and according to Roman custom was expected *abluere caput*. The visit of the bride to her father's house (*revertalia*) eight days after the wedding was celebrated by a banquet to relations and friends, when presents were exchanged, — shirts, breeches, ribbons for the men, distaffs and spindles, *rocham cum fusis*, slippers and pattens, *subtellares et zoculos*, for the women.[2]

With the growth of ideas and the change of circumstances, greater freedom was introduced into marriage

[1] We have found a curious instance of the *morgengab* in a document of September, 1201 (Arch. di Stato, Arch. di San Zaccaria, *Estere*), which records that Marino Valaresso married Modesta, and that *primo die lunae nuptiarum suarum cum surrexit a latere suo*, he gave her six silver marks, while the neighbours sent her nine golden rings. See Molmenti, *La Dogaressa di Venezia*, p. 40.

[2] Besta, Enr., op. cit.

A Venetian Wedding (XV century) — from a painting of Giovanni d'Alemagna and of Antonio Vivarini ; in the Academy

customs. We have a description of a marriage in a noble family during the war of Chioggia, written by Francesco di Vannozzo.[1] The Paduan poet is writing in a vein of mockery or of satire, but that does not detract from the value of this curious picture taken from the life: the guests, men and women, all of noble houses, assemble in the bride's home on the Campo di San Polo; they crowd round the couple to whom questions are put:

A vu dona Rebosa da ca' Moro,
ve plaxe per marido
ser Afenido da ca' Malipier?
e così consente en esso? . . . .
Et allora essa respouse: messer sì;
Et a ti, Afenido da ca' Malipier,
te plaxe per mojer
e vuostu qua così per to sposa
donna Rebosa
et en essa consenti?

Then, the ring having been placed, the young men present are requested to play and to sing:

E così li versi sona
madona Semprebona
da ca' Zustinian
li prese tutti do per man
e feseli ballar . . .
E co' la canzon fo' riva
'lo grida, c'ogn'om l'oldiva,
ver lo spozado:
Se dio te varenta el novizado
e se Dio te varda da mal morir
plaquave de dir una canzon!

The bridegroom then sings a madrigal, but one of his groomsmen addresses verses and advice to the bride,

[1] Published by Grion in the appendix to the *Trattato di Antonio da Tempo*, cit., p. 327.

telling her never to do anything to displease her husband:

E quando ch'el bien de notte
che tu ve' ch'i son irado
Non penzar ch'io te dia botte
fatte arente al mio costado.

The bride blushes, but says:

taxè, brigada,
ch'io vo' dir una ballada;
Ardente mio marido
caro frar dolze, affenido
el è ver ch'io son to sposa
e vardarème de far cosa
che me tu sepi, io te 'nde sfido.
E quando ch'el sarà de notte
se tu vien apiornado
ei te darè tante botte
che tu non gaverà del flado,
e se avesse a zo pensado
no'nd averia tolto marido.

And here the quarrel threatens to end in blows, but is quieted by the announcement of a good dinner, and the priest completes the pacification.

The simplicity of ancient customs gave way before the mockery of the new spirit which held them up to ridicule in verse and in the novel. But family life in Venice was sound at heart and in body, and Venetian mothers took care to rear sturdy offspring for the State. While in other countries the casuistry of love or a strange mystical exaltation tended to dissolve the family bond, the Venetian Minorite, Fra Paolino (d. 1344), writing under the form of advice and counsel, lets us see what was the aspect of a Venetian family. The man sought a wife of his own age, and chose her well made in body, as therefore being likely to bear him fine children. In direct opposition to the ideas of chivalry, the man was not to be guided by the opinion

of his wife, who was incapable of giving sound advice, owing to the natural defect and weakness of her physical formation.[1]

But love was not only a favourite subject for men of letters; it also played a prominent part as a subject for the decorative arts, and its various phases which end in matrimony are rendered with a rude but convincing vigour by an unknown sculptor of the end of the Trecento, in the details of a capital in the outer colonnade of the Ducal Palace. The artist shows us the man making love, marrying, giving presents to his wife, kissing her, in bed with her; he becomes a father, caresses his son and, lastly, bewails his death. We have another representation of mediæval marriage in the "Matrimonio di Santa Monica," a picture now in the Accademia at Venice, which once formed part of the "ancona" painted by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna for the church of Santo Stefano in Venice.

When the first breath of the Renaissance passed over society, profoundly modifying national customs, the *ars amatoria* and the ceremonies of marriage became more refined, the presents grew richer and more elaborate, and ivory diptychs were delicately carved with scenes and stories of an amorous character.[2] The diptychs were given, according to ancient Roman custom, at marriage, along with the nuptial casket, carved in bone, which took the place of the earlier and ruder *arcelle*, and was meant to hold the wedding jewels. To the Latin hymns and prayers in use at weddings were added

[1] *De regimine rectoris* di Fra Paolino Minorita, ed. Mussafia. Vienna-Firenze, 1868.

[2] Grevembroch has a sketch of a curious diptych in the form of a comb, with this more curious inscription: *dittico nuziale di eburnea fattura a modo di pettine per vezzosa sposa promessa in premio a vittorioso e formidabile guerriero.*

nuptial odes[1] which breathe a new atmosphere. This gaiety of temper and of habit breathes throughout the following love scene, described with such lively realism in the verses of Lionardo Giustinian, a well-known writer born in 1388 and dead in 1446. Here we have the mother telling the daughter that she had seen a *zoveneto* under the windows, half hidden behind a corner, kissing a kerchief that belonged to the maid; the girl replies quite frankly:

— Madre mia, voluntera
el vero a te dirò lo;
stando al balcon jersera
col fazoleto al colo,
non sazo in che maniera
a terra el me cadette;
costui come lo vette
lo el tolse . . .

. . . . . .

— Figlia, se 'l tuo piacere
è pur con onestà
te 'l voglio concedere
e de te aver piatà,
rispetto voglio avere
al fior degl'anni tuoi;
ma dime, se tu vuoi,
quanto temp' è ch'el t'à vaghezà?

— Madre, l'è quasi un anno
ch'el me donò la fede;
ma el m'ama tanto piano
che alcun non se n'avvede. . . .

The mother, who knows from experience, warns her daughter not to put too much faith in this love apparently so timid and discreet:

[1] Jacopo Morelli (*Operette*, cit., Vol. I, p. 145) cites, as the oldest wedding song, an epithalamium for the marriage of Jacopo Balbi and Paola Barbaro, daughter of Francesco, composed in 1453 by the Hungarian Giovanni Cesinge, better known as Giano Pannonio.

—Figlia, tu sai ben l'arte
d'amare alla coperta;
ma de lui non fidarte
e non te far sì certa:
l' è pieno in ogni parte
de sti vezzosi amanti
con soi falsi sembianti;
chi troppo crede ne riman gabà.

—Madre, chiaro comprendo
che costui m' è fidele,
d'amor el va languendo
al sol e a le stele;
e meraviglia prendo
ch'el sia tanto costante
a le fatiche tante
che sua persona ha per mi dur[a].

But love does not last unless fed by sight, and so the mother replies:

—Ma stagli ascosa un mese
fagli dispetti assai
e alora vederai
sta tanta fede che te ven portà.

—Io zamai non farazo,
madre, tanta dureza,
anzi gli mostrerazo
ogni dì più dolceza
fin ch'io viverazo
con piacier el convegno.
Da mi el ha un gran pegno
che, s'el lassassi, e' ne seria impazzà.

—Figlia, che pegno è questo?
che vuol dir sta parola?
parlame manifesto,
dimmelo ormai, fiola!
Or me lo dizi presto
non me tegnir suspesa!
Figlia, ben t'azo intesa,
io vedo ben che la cosa è spazzà!

The girl, however, is listening not to the warning words of her mother, but for the coming of her lover,

who announces his presence by spitting, whereupon the girl runs to the window.

—Madre, finire al tuto
voglio sto mio sermone,
el mio amante è venuto,
io zir voglio al balcone:
spudar l'azo sentuto,
da lui me sento chiamare,
me voglio apresentare.
Statte con Dio, che io son aspetta.[1]

Although with the introduction of luxury corruption no doubt infected the manners and customs of Venice, there still remained a healthy vein of simplicity, the heritage from ancient times. An apparent bond of easy familiarity still subsisted between nobles and people; for instance, on Ascension Day the people of Poveglia presented the Dogaressa with a purse full of copper coins, that, as they said, she might buy herself a pair of slippers. But about the throne of the Dogaressa, in the palaces of the patricians as well as in the humble abodes of the poor, the life of the womenfolk proceeded so quietly, unostentatiously, and modestly that we cannot now recover many of the details. Chronicles and ancient documents hardly more than give us the names of women, — strange names, dead now along with their owners, — and little they help us to conjure up the likeness of a Felicia, an Alidea, a Teodora, Aloica, Tommasina, Bertuzza, Falasia, Campagnola, Fidiana, Canziana, Diadema, Engranata, Uliosa, Zardina, Olimpiade, Icia, Cavalcante, Ciattarella, Beriola, Casotta, Vivalda, Rucca, Altafiore, Suordamor, Istriana, Birida, Galifora, Reconfilinia, Donina, Lodola, Pantasilea,

[1] Giustinian, L., *Poesie edite ed inedite*, n. 23, ed. B. Wiese. Bologna, 1883.

Agrismonia, Fina, Creusa, Soprana, Zaratina,[1] and so on.

But the growing license which began to invade even the convents cannot dim the fame of certain gentle ladies, the Countess Tagliapietra, Giuliana di Collalto, and Eufemia Giustinian, who from the long corridors of their nunneries looked out, in tears and terror, upon the changing times; recluses to whom the Church conceded the honours of beatification.

Meantime, in order to safeguard public morals, the government passed law after law with ever severer penalties. Let us take an example or two. Certain crimes were sharply punished, and during the twelfth century we find that parents who had prostituted their offspring were flogged, branded and imprisoned; pimps were imprisoned, branded, tortured and banished. Attempts on the honour of a married woman were punished by imprisonment and fine; adulteresses who to the public scandal had left their husbands' houses were condemned to imprisonment for life. Rape on minors incurred the loss of a hand or of the eyes or even hanging. A woman from Constantinople guilty of infanticide was burned alive between the columns of the Piazzetta, *inter duas columnas comburatur taliter quod moriatur*.[2]

The *Promissione al maleficio* of July 24, 1232 (Cap. XXVII), provides: "Se alcun disverzenerà per forza alcuna zovene, over haverà violentemente da far con donne maritade o con femine corrotte se 'l confessarà il delitto, over sarà per testimonii convinto tutti doi li occhi perderà." But Paulo Steno, of San Geremia, did

[1] Museo Civico, MSS. Dolfin Gradenigo, n. 66, a MS. of the eighteenth century containing a *Nota di nomi stravaganti di gentildonne veneziane*.

[2] Cecchetti, *La donna*, etc. cit. (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXI, pp. 334 et seq.).

not lose his eyes, in spite of the fact that one night in 1343 he penetrated into the chamber of Saray, daughter of Pietro Falier, of San Maurizio, and raped her while two of her servants, Beta, a German, and Zanino, held the unhappy victim down. Steno was condemned to a year's imprisonment and a fine of three hundred lire; Zanino was imprisoned for six months and then banished, while Beta, who had fled, was condemned, in absence, to the loss of her nose and lip and to perpetual banishment.[1] *Multa inonesta et turpia commituntur in ecclesia et portica et platea Sancti Marci*, so runs a decree of the Maggior Consiglio of March, 1315;[2] and as a matter of fact we find the patrician Marco Grimani expelled by the custodians of the building for trying to rape a girl in the atrium of the church; he was condemned to a fine of three hundred lire, one hundred of which went to the girl.[3]

In 1388 Alvise, son of the Doge Antonio Venier, received a far severer punishment. He was courting the wife of the patrician Giovanni dalle Boccole and had a quarrel with her; to spite her family he hung two heavy bunches of horns on her husband's door, with an inscription insulting the wife, sister and mother-in-law of dalle Boccole. He was fined one hundred ducats and imprisoned for two months.[4] In prison he fell ill, but the Doge his father would not say a word on his behalf, and he died. Neither a great name nor powerful relations availed to save Michele Morosini from the rigours of the law when condemned for housebreaking and attempted violation; nor Paolo da Canal and Marino

[1] Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero*, cit., pp. 57, 58.

[2] Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire alla Storia del Palazzo ducale*, P. I. Venezia, 1868.

[3] Arch. di Stato, *Raspe*, III, fol. 47, June 9, 1363.

[4] Ibid., ibid., IV, fol. 27 t°.

Buora, who climbed a window and raped Maddalena, wife of Giacomo Cervato; nor Giorgio Loredan, who abducted a girl, Maria Torresani,[1] from a convent, and others whom it would be tedious and disgusting to enumerate. A law of September 22, 1288, severely punished bigamy, also pimping by servants for their masters. Those "qui iuraverunt quod ille qui voluerit contrahere matrimonium cum aliqua non habet uxorem, si inventum fuerit eum habuisse uxorem tempore contracti matrimonii, debeant frustari, et bullari, et bannizari perpetualiter."[2]

Before the date of the Council of Trent the presence of a priest was not considered essential to a marriage, which was frequently celebrated merely in the presence of witnesses or groomsmen. Such a marriage could be annulled, and in this way people managed to marry several wives. Some of these scandalous abuses are recorded in old memoirs and trials in a language that is a curious blend of Low Latin and dialect. They evoke for us some highly coloured scenes from this scandalous side of Venetian life. One day in October of 1443, a certain Peter of Trent, brush-maker, passing through the parish of SS. Gervasio e Protasio, stopped before the house of Cattaruzza, widow of Giovanni Bianco; and seeing her at the window addressed her thus:

"Madonna catéme qualche fante per mi."

"Bruto mato," she replies, "me vorrestu mai far messetta?"

"Io non dico cussì," answers Peter, "io dico per mia muyer."

"Ben cussì sì," cries Cattaruzza, and remembering a

[1] See *Raspe*, April 5, 1340, October 14, 1351, March 4, 1383.

[2] Arch. di Stato, M. C., Deliberazioni, *Pilosus*, fol. 20 t°.

girl of her acquaintance she adds, "In fe de Dio io te ne catterò una. Tornerai doman qua." Next day accordingly Peter turned up again and found a beautiful girl called Maria awaiting him along with a certain Domenico Moxe, who addressing the couple asked if they wished to be married as God and the Holy Church ordain. Pietro and Maria both said "Yes" and gave their hands; they then made their *colation de brigada* and afterward *consumaverunt matrimonium*.

In 1453 a certain Giacomo, in the service of Giovanni da Crema, was living with his master in the house of Lazzaro Tedesco, *qui tenebat hospites ad septimanam in contracta S. Lucae*. Among his boarders was a certain Chiara. One day Giovanni and Chiara summoned Giacomo and wished him to be witness to their marriage. Giovanni turning to Chiara said, "Chiaro io te tojo per mia mujer," and she replied, "Et io te toglio per mio marito, et son contenta." Giacomo, when examined before the judge, said, "Et così el dito Zuane in quella ora la sposa con un annello, et in quella notte se ne andò tutti do a dormir insieme, et per tutti vegniva tegnudi marito e mujer et così chiamadi et reputadi."

In 1456 a certain Beatrice Francigena, on her way back from Treviso, went to the house of a relation called Zanina, where there were lodging by chance two men called Falcon and Antonio Remer. Nothing could be more simple and ingenuous than the evidence given by Zanina in court; it runs thus: "Dum ibi starent in colloquio, dictus Falconus dixit dictae Beatrici: 'A mò, Beatrixe, tu me fa si bel onor? Tu sa che te ho da la man, e tu è andà a dar la man a un altro?' Et ipsa respondit: 'Credeva che tu me calefassi, che tu me fessi beffe.' Et dictus Falconus dixit: 'Quel che te ho promesso el te vojo prometter de

bel nuo.' Et ambo praedicti iverunt in camera domus dictae testis ibique dictus dixit: 'Beatrixe, tu sa che tu xe mia.' Et ipsa respondit: 'Madi sì.' Et tunc ipse tetigit manum Beatricis dicendo: 'E no toco altra mujer che ti.' Et ipsa respondit: 'Et mi no toco altro marido che ti.'"[1]

The government, which always kept a watchful eye on morals, sought to regulate prostitution even as early as 1314. In 1360 further steps were taken with that object. The prostitutes who are recognised as *omnino necessarie in terra ista* were forbidden to occupy common lodging houses, or to go about the city except on Saturday, and were restricted to a district at Rialto called the Castelletto.[2]

From the end of the twelfth and all through the thirteenth century many laws were enacted to check electoral corruption, smuggling and theft, and to regulate bankruptcy; dishonest public servants were banished; tenants who failed to pay their rents were punished.[3] From September till the end of the Carnival suppers and parties where women were present were forbidden unless the women were relations of the householder; and in order to remove *multa inepta et vana,* it was declared illegal to entertain males or females *post sonum tertiae campanae* between Michaelmas and the first day of Lent.[4] Oaths and insults were also punished by law,

[1] Gallicciolli, Vol. II, pp. 1769, 1770, 1771.

[2] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Novella,* 1354–1384, p. 73. See Lorenzi, *Leggi e memorie Ven. sulla prostituzione.* Venezia, 1870.

[3] Arch. di Stato, *Signori di Notte al Criminal, Capitolare,* I, foll. 4 t°, 9, 28 t°, 48 t°, 52 t°, 57, etc.

[4] ". . . Quod nunc et de cetero a festo sancti Michaelis de mense septembris usque per totum carnisprivium aliqua persona cuiuscumque condicionis existat, non audeat, nec propter nuptias, nec aliqua alia occasione in domo sua facere cenam vel convivium dominarum, exceptis sororibus, nuribus, neptibus et cognatis sponsi et ex parte sponsi, seu illius qui eas haberet in

and in 1304 a decree was issued that *quilibet tam masculus quam foemina qui tam injuria alterius quam aliter nominabit* vermum canem *perdat soldos viginti.*[1]

Even Petrarch, who was much attached to Venice, complained of the foul language and excessive license of the Venetians. If this license, however, reached the limits appointed by State censorship, or, worse still, if it conveyed an insult to the State of Venice, terrible punishments inevitably followed. In 1404 a certain Frenchman called Rizzardo was hanged for saying he would like to wash his hands in Venetian blood.[2] On May 16, 1404, the Council of Ten condemned Lodovico Contarini to lose his hand for having published caricatures *una sub nomine Serenissimi Principi nostri et altera sub nomine Advocatorum Comunis*, with scurrilous mottoes, offensive not merely to the honour of the Doge, *sed etiam contra honorem et statum nostrum.*[3] The honour of the State, however, was protected from menace and from insult by the vigilant eyes and ears that guarded it, either in the hope of obtaining a reward or *per zelo ed amore per la patria*, to use the words of that gentleman of the Grioni family when declining a reward for having denounced

convivio vel in cena, intelligendo neptes filias filiorum vel filiarum, fratrum vel sororum . . . quod prohibeatur et publice proclametur quod a festo sancti Michaelis usque primam diem quadragesime nulla persona cuiuscumque condicionis existat, possit nec debeat retinere aliquam personam, masculum vel feminam ad nuptias in cena nec etiam in domo absque cena post sonum tercie campane exceptis servitoribus consuetis et oportunis. . . . Insuper ad aliquas nuptias que fient aliquo tempore anni, nullus debeat molestare, aufferre vel retinere sponsam sive noviciam. . . ." Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Spiritus*, fol. 109, February 13 (m. v.); *Novella*, fol. 134, May 15, 1356.

[1] Ibid., M. C., *Magnus*, fol. 59 t°, January 4, 1303 (m. v.).

[2] Tassini, *Condanne*, etc., p. 49. Venezia, 1867.

[3] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X., *Misti*, reg. 16, fol. 119 t°.

Crassioti, the thief of the jewels in Saint Mark's treasury.[1]

It would be no easy task to follow the legislation intended to restrain the spirit of gambling. In 1175 Niccolo Barattieri, as a reward for having raised the two columns of the piazzetta, obtained leave to open in the space between them a gaming saloon for games otherwise illegal.[2] After this we find a long series of acts to organise and control games of skill and of hazard; some of these games, such as chess, dice, drafts (*tavolette*), knuckle-bones (*paletti*), skittles (*zoni*), racquets (*la palla*), conqueror (*le uova*), tip-stick (*il pandolo*), chequers (*la tria*), hazard (*la zara*), we can identify; of others, such as *biscia*, *lume*, *biribissi*, *scargalaseno*, we have no idea what they were like.[3] There are various laws of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which compel the payment of gambling debts under personal and pecuniary punishments, but prohibit gaming *cum taxillis*, or with *ovi* or *dadi* or *zonos et tabullelas*, under or in front of the portico of San Marco, in the little courtyard, the chambers or doorways of the Palace, in the Doge's stable, in the church of San Basso, or under the loggia at Rialto, in inns or taverns, or under the sottoporticoes of the city.[4] Another act warns innkeepers not to harbour *aliquem hominem vel personam qui ludet ad aliquem ludum cum taxillis;* another forbids professional gamblers to settle in Venice under pain of

[1] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X., *Misti*, reg. 26, fol. 119 t°.

[2] Barattieri "dimandò che'l fosse lecito a cadaum zuogar sopra li gradi di ditte colone e che zuogo li pareva et che quantità si volesse senza alcuna pena, et cussì fo concesso tal grazia." Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, ed. Monticolo, p. 287.

[3] Cecchetti, *Giocolieri e giuochi antichi di Venezia* (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXVIII, p. 426).

[4] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Comune*, June 25, 1278, Reg. II, fol. 55.

imprisonment, flogging and branding; another punishes *lusores cum taxillis falsis*.[1] Many of these acts were recalled, and so we go on between prohibitions and concessions till we come to January 20, 1390, on which date we find an order of the Signori di Notte which mentions *unum par cartarum a ludendo*.[2] It has been erroneously supposed that playing cards were invented in Venice in the fourteenth century,[3] but the invention is far older and does not belong to Venice, though it is certain that the making of cards was quickly introduced into the city; as early as 1441 we find the card-makers complaining of foreign competition.[4]

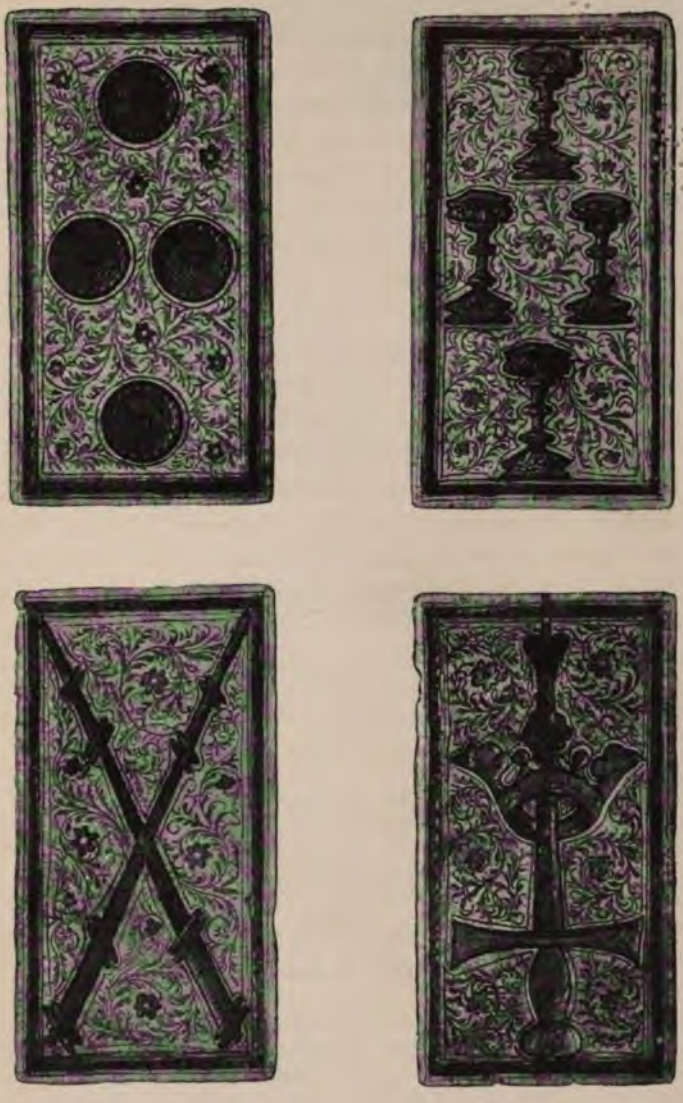
It was impossible that in a city like Venice, full of life and passion, of business and of pleasure, overflowing with wealth, the emporium of trade between East and West, the haunt of every kind of stranger, manners should preserve their primitive purity; and in fact we find the

[1] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Comune* (June 6, 1278), Reg. II, fol. 54 t°. *Capitolare I dei Signori di Notte*, foll. 3 t° and 4 (May 19, 1299). M. C., *Capricornus*, fol. 42 t° (May 18, 1307). *Grazie*, XIII, fol. 11 t° (February 12, 1352).

[2] Dolcetti, *Le bische e il giuoco d'azzardo a Venezia*, Appendice V. Venezia, 1903.

[3] Merlin, *Sur l'origine des cartes à jouer*, p. 57. Paris, 1870. See also Bullet, *Recherches hist. sur les cartes à jouer* (Lion, 1757), and Singer, *Researches into the History of Playing Cards*. London, 1816.

[4] Rémusat, *Mem.*, 2° série, T. VII, p. 247. The Museo Civico of Venice has a pack of playing cards made in Venice in the fifteenth century; they are very big and have plain backs. The face of the card is covered with delicate arabesques in blue and red and dotted with little gold flowers. The border is silvered over a raised line of body colour, decorated by tiny punch-marks. The figures of two suits, *denari* and *coppe*, are in gold similarly decorated; *bastoni* are red and blue alternately, with hilt and tip gilded. *Spade* have their mountings in gold and a silver blade (Lazari, *Notizie delle opere d'arte e d'antichità della Raccolta Correr*, p. 272. Venezia, 1859). Cicognara (*Memorie spettanti alla St. della calcografia*, p. 159. Prato, 1831) thinks these are the cards referred to in the decree of the Senate of October 11, 1441.



PLAYING CARDS. (MUSEO CIVICO)

More vulgarly offensive is Sercambi, who at the close of the fourteenth century pretends to divert with his stories a company of Tuscans who had fled from the plague. He mocks and jeers at the cities of Italy, but chiefly at Venice, *più d'inganni piena che d'amore;* and speaking of light women he says *serventi all' omo al modo di Vinegia, dove sono piùttosto vaghe della carne che del pane.*[1] The farther we come down in the fifteenth century, the blacker grows the picture of Venetian manners. The great and wealthy city had now become a sink of iniquity, if we are to believe the savage invectives of certain authors, which give a peculiar stamp to this restless period of humanistic culture. Poggio Bracciolini, for instance, one of the most turbulent of these spirits, alludes, in one of his obscene *Facetiae*,[2] to the infidelity of Venetian women. But among the many violent attacks on Venetian corruption let us take a very singular one. The author, under the name of *Plinius Veronensis*, writes to his friend *Ovidio Nasone* on this subject, and describes the visit paid to Venice by the noble Veronese family of Nogarola (1438–1440). He attacks the loose life of Antonio Nogarola and his sisters Bartolomea and Isotta, — the same Isotta so lauded by contemporary men of letters, but accused by an anonymous author of Sapphic vices, — vices of which we, at all events, find not the smallest trace in the female life of the lagoons. Let us hear the violent indictment: "Existimabam antea in hac regia urbe, que tamquam sentina quedam omnium divitiarum et opum merito vocari posset, ingenuos esse mulierum animos, qui vel nullo pretio ad

[1] Sercambi, *Novelle inedit.*, taken from the Codex Trivulzianus CXCM, ed. Renier. Nov. 75, 90 (*De malitia mulieris adultera*). Torino, 1889.

[2] Poggii, *Opera Facetiae*, p. 483. Basileae, 1538.

illustrious head of the State, Andrea Dandolo, involved in an illicit love affair. For Ascension tide of 1347 there came to Venice Isabella Fieschi, wife of Luchino Visconti, a very beautiful woman, with all the gifts of body and mind save modesty. The Doge was caught by the charms of this light lady, and throwing to the winds the duties of his high office he embarked on a scandalous intrigue with the Visconti, as is reported by historians.[1] Isabella, it is true, was not a Venetian, but Venetian women themselves enjoyed no good repute, and even at this date their facile manners gave food for pungent satire. An anonymous poet,[2] running over the list of women who "fan fallo," dedicates to Venice the following mordant verses:

De le done de Veniexia
dir ve voio zertamente;
lor mariti non aprexia
una paja veramente;

anzi vanno arditamente
e po' i porta loro in mano,
con preti e con mondano
ogni dì va a far raxone.

El conven pur che raxone
de le done che fan fallo
come san metter in ballo
lor mariti per raxone.

The poet, however, has the same to say of the Paduans, Trevisans, Vicentines, and Veronese.

[1] Azario, *Chr.* (*Rer. It. Script.*, Vol. XVI, col. 325). Corio, *St. di Milano*, P. III, Cap. IV. Historians say it was the Doge Francesco Dandolo who had this intrigue with Isabella Visconti. But Francesco Dandolo was Doge from 1328 to 1339, while Isabella did not come to Venice till 1347, when Andrea Dandolo was on the throne.

[2] Casini, *Rime inedite dei sec. XIII e XIV* (in *Il Propugnatore*, Vol. XV, P. II, p. 347, 1882).

the case in these violent partisan attacks, but still not all calumny; for in Venetian society there was already the trail of perverted passions and abuse of the senses. True, the other cities of Italy were no better, and Petrarch declares that "il lenocinio liberamente passeggiava, e offesa gemava in ogni canto la pudicizia, calpestata la verecondia, cacciato in bando il pudore." Giovanni Boccaccio shocks the Jew Abraham by recounting the vices of Rome, and laments that Egyptian effeminacy has invaded the peninsula, *con disfacimento* of all Italy. The avarice of the priests, according to Dante, kept the world in poverty; Sacchetti says that *nei chierici ogni vizio dicupidità regnava;* Santa Caterina of Siena calls the clergy of her day *ribaldi e barattieri, che furavano il sangue di Cristo.* We must observe, however, that until the Renaissance radically changed the character of society, virtues and vices in Venice were more sharply defined and contrasted. The violence of the emotions and appetites would not admit those hypocritical palliations and opportunist concessions which pleased a later and more refined age. Love and lust, contempt for this world's goods and boundless greed, dignity and abjectness, stood in sharp contrast to each other throughout the middle ages, and it seemed as if men rejoiced in violent passage from the purest heights to the depths of blackness. Yet notwithstanding the corruption which was undermining the ideals of life, Venice still preserved for many years the vigour of her public and private virtues, and was active in the development of her colonies and her commerce, courageous in war, prudent in her legislation, industrious in the accumulation of wealth.

CHAPTER XI

THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS

IN the early years of Venetian history we find the most delicate artistic workmanship applied to the adornment of the churches, the only buildings at that time constructed with splendour and magnificence. The refugees from the Roman municipia of the mainland brought to their lagoon homes the traditions of classical art, and on these Roman traditions were gradually grafted elements native to Venice itself or imported from the artistic work of the barbarians. For if it is true that classical traditions transformed much of this barbaric work, still it cannot be denied that certain characteristics of the Gothic, Lombard and Frankish style assumed a permanent place in the art products of the West. Gothic art was both rich and varied; and the objects found in Gothic tombs, jewels and ornaments, of which some specimens may be seen in the Museum of Cividale, are characterised by a singular caprice of form. Lombard work is less distinguished but more delicate, owing to its closer contact with the conquered Italian races; Theodolinda's treasury, preserved at Monza, is a proof. Exquisitely graceful and in certain respects masterly is the work of the Carolingian period.[1] Roman art undoubtedly had a profound effect upon the barbarians, but they adopted the principles and the methods of that art to suit

[1] Venturi, *Storia dell' arte*, etc., Vol. II, pp. 106, 134, 170.

themselves and applied them to their own native designs, which were well known to the Venetians, thanks to their frequent relations, both political and commercial, with the conquerors of the mainland. But high above both barbaric art, which was assimilating to itself so much of Latin art, and classical Roman art, which was in rapid decline and growing daily ruder, shone out the art of Byzantium, whose home was chiefly in Ravenna and in the islands of the Venetian lagoon. Greek masters came to Heraclea, Equilio, Torcello, Malamocco, Rialto, and taught the Venetians the style and the methods of the most refined artistic workmanship. A document of the highest value for the history of these artistic industries which were either native to the lagoon or were imported and flourished there, is the deed of gift executed by the Patriarch Fortunatus (803-826) in favour of his church of Grado.[1] There we read of silver railings for the high altar, of ciboria, gold and silver statues, stuffs woven with gold thread, wrought in foliage and arabesques, with pearl stars, sparkling with rubies and sown with diamonds; purple hangings embroidered with the story of the Epiphany; fine linen cloths with inwoven scenes from Bible story; lamps in the form of crowns; silver candelabra in the form of a grille; gilded vases; great golden censers. The same document also says that for the restoration of the baptistry of Grado Fortunatus, who was a leader of the Francophil party, summoned, possibly with a political intent, *magistros de Francia*, and that to France he had sent one of his

[1] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, Vol. V, p. 1101. See also the will of Giustiniano Partecipazio (829), in which mention is made of ornaments in gold, bronze and pearls for the church of San Zaccaria. *Cod. Dip. Padovano dal sec. VI all' XI* (*Atti della Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*).

precious chalices to be altered and adorned. Here, then, we find appearing in the lagoon, side by side with the Greeks, the masters and the artistic style of other nations. All the same in the genesis of Venetian art the chief place belongs to the East, though we must admit that Venice knew how to draw inspiration from other quarters as well. The architects of the primitive churches were Byzantine; Byzantine the artificers who adorned the walls and vaults with mosaic; Byzantine in character the leading arts, such as that of ivory carving, which flourished in the East and was quickly imported into Venice. The episcopal throne at Grado was adorned with carved ivories like the *sellae curules* of the ancients; this throne came from Alexandria, and tradition says it was the gift of the Emperor Heraclius to the church of Grado.[1] The so-called throne of Maximianus, probably of the fifth century,[2] is also Byzantine; it is preserved in the sacristy of the duomo at Ravenna. Tradition has it that the Doge Pietro Orseolo II sent it as a present to the Emperor Otho III[3] in return for *duo imperialia ornamenta auro miro opere acta*. All that is certain is that John the Deacon, in December, 1001, on the orders of the Doge, took to Ravenna a throne made of ivory plaques — *cathedra elephantinis artificiose sculpta tabulis* — carved in relief; but it is not proved that this is the throne of Maximianus.

[1] Venturi, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 467. Prof. Laudedeo Testi, in his *Osservaz. crit. sulla St. dell' Arte del Venturi* (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, Disp. I of 1902) has proved, by a passage from Giovanni Candido, printed in 1521, that the throne was still at Grado in that year. "Cathedram qua Alexandriae Marcus Evangelista praesederet *vidimus* in Sacrario Gradensi laceram ebore consertam." Candido, *Commentari Aquileiensi*, 1521, Lib. III, p. 12.

[2] Venturi, op. cit., p. 468.

[3] Ricci, *Ravenna*, p. 69. Bergamo, 1902.

The Greeks taught the Venetians the art of organ-building, as we know from the case of Priest Giorgio, a Venetian who in 826 made the organ for Aix-la-Chapelle; but, on the other hand, the twelve bells sent by the Doge Orso Partecipazio, in 864, as a present to the Emperor Basil appear to have been something new in Constantinople, and the chroniclers assure us that it was then that the Greeks first learned the use of bells.[1] Even the arts inherited from Rome were vitalised by the master craftsmen of the East. That commonest of all mosaics called *terrazzo*, which was used for the floors of Venetian houses from the very first, was adapted from Rome. It was made of chips of marble of various colours, held together by a paste made of lime and pounded bricks, well beaten down and then smoothed by the action of the grindstone; but in order to make these mosaics more beautiful for the floors of churches, Greek masters were sent for, even as early as the sixth century. These masters set out the little cubes of stone following the outlines and details of figures (*opus vermiculatum*) or geometrical designs (*opus tesselatum*). The pavement of the church of Grado dates from the sixth century and is an instance of the *opus vermiculatum;* the design is graceful and the names of the donors are introduced; the stones employed are white, black, red, and yellow. The floor of Torcello belongs to the seventh century; it is executed in carefully chosen marbles; the design is in circles or wheels, and so much was it admired that the Cronaca Altinate declares that it gave its name *della Roda* to the village near it. The floor of the abbey church of Sant' Ilario e Benedetto belongs to the ninth century; its design is copied

[1] Muratori, *Ann.*, T. V, p. 57. Lucca, MDCCLXIII.

from the pavements of ancient Roman villas and early Christian churches.[1]

Roman tradition and Byzantine teaching are also found united in giving rise to that most beautiful of all the Venetian artistic industries, glass-work. The art must have existed in Venice from the earliest times, for excavations have laid bare fragments of coloured glass and *murrine*, while the important objects in glass preserved in the museums of Aquileia, Cividale, Udine, and Portogruaro would lead us to suppose that a glass-factory was not far off. When Constantine summoned the masters of the art to his capital, they went in such numbers that one of the gates of the city was named the gate *della Vetreria*, and the art died out almost entirely in the West. After the fall of the Empire it continued to flourish in Alexandria and in some cities of Syria, Greece, and above all at Constantinople, where they worked in mosaics, coloured glass, and enamel.

Along with the pavement mosaicists (*mosaicisti per terram*),[2] who worked at Grado, Torcello, and Sant' Ilario, there came also the workers in figure mosaics for walls and vaults, — a decoration that was appreciated though rarely employed in edifices of the pagan period, though it received more honour in early Christian art. Without mentioning Rome or Constantinople we may recall the splendid examples of this art in the fifth century mosaics of the archiepiscopal chapel, the baptistry of the Orthodox, and the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, the city that exercised the strongest artistic influence on Venice. The material employed in Byzantine mosaic is, for the most part, cubes of gold enamel or

[1] Cattaneo, *L'architettura in Italia dal sec. VI al Mille c.*, pp. 59 and 236. Venezia, MDCCCLXXXIX.

[2] Pasini, *Guide de la Basilique St. Marc*, p. 6. Schio, 1883.

of coloured glass, various in shape and never smoothed. As the art of mosaic is so closely allied to the glass-worker's craft, we may well believe that the Byzantine master[1] mosaicists helped the Venetians to perfect themselves in the making of glass,[2] — an art not entirely lost among the refugees of the lagoons,[3] at least as far as common objects were concerned.

The origin of the Venetian glass industry is, beyond doubt, obscure. The first notice of it that we have is in a document of 1090, where we find mention of a certain *Petrus Flabianus phiolarius*[4] and in the by-laws of the glass-blowers' guild (*fioleri*), dated April 4, 1271.[5] The industry, however, was already flourishing and placed under the direction of the Giustizieri by the beginning of the thirteenth century.[6] It is highly probable that the guild was even older than this date, and that in its early life it was governed by oral traditions, as was the case with the guild of smiths in the eleventh century.[7]

The art of glass-making, in common with all the more artistic industries of Venice, received a remarkable impulse from the capture of Constantinople (1204). The fame of the artists, both Byzantine and native, who worked in Venice and were known by the common name

[1] *Magister musilei*, — such is the name given to a certain Marco Indriomeni, a Greek, in 1153. Cecchetti, *Monografia della Vetr. Ven. e Muranese*, p. 7. Venezia, 1874.

[2] Turgan, *Les grandes usines Verreries de Murano*. Paris, 1870.

[3] Bussolin, *Guida alle fabbr. Vetrarie di Murano*. Venezia, 1842. Labarte, *Hist. des arts industriels*, Vol. III, p. 378. Paris, 1875. Gerspach, *L'art de la verrerie*, p. 118. Paris, 1892.

[4] *Ducale di Vitale Faliero del 1090*, quoted by Cecchetti, loc. cit.

[5] Preserved at the Arch. di Stato and illustrated by Monticolo, *L'arte dei fioleri a Venezia* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, T. I, p. 137).

[6] *Liber Plegiorum*, Reg. ed. Predelli, n. 149.

[7] Monticolo, loc. cit., p. 138.

(A)

(B)

A — Glass nuptial cup, attributed to Angelo Beroviero. (Museo Civico)
B — Ancient glass phial, discovered in excavation. (Museo Civico)

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of *mosaicisti di Venezia*, was certainly widespread, for at the beginning of the thirteenth century we find a certain Florentine, Andrea Tafi by name, who came to the lagoons to learn the business. This Tafi, partly by bribes and partly by promises, carried off to Florence the Greek Apollonio, master-workman at San Marco. The Chronicler, Martino da Canal, in 1268, speaking of the procession of the craft guilds, makes mention of the glass-workers *con scarlatti e fregi d'oro e ricche ghirlande di perle e guastade ed oricanni ed altrettali vetrami gentili*.[1]

As early as 1278 the larger part of the glass-workers were settled in Murano under the protection of San Donato. But there must have been a considerable number of glass-blowers in Venice itself, for a decree of the Consiglio Maggiore, dated November 8, 1291, with a view to freeing the city from all industries which were either a nuisance or unhealthy,[2] ordered the removal of the glass-furnaces at Castello to Murano, though in the following year leave was granted to make a certain kind of glass (*veriselli*) in Venice, but only in small furnaces which must be five paces away from any inhabited building.[3]

The by-laws of the bottle-blowers, dated 1271, which with additions come down to November 19, 1311, and are called the *mariegola* of the art after the middle of the fifteenth century, were written in the dialect, and contain but few technical rules. The guild, which paid customs to the Doge, was composed of owners, master-workmen and apprentices (*discipuli*).[4] The

[1] Da Canal, *Cron.*, cit., p. 625.
[2] Tanners were obliged to live on the Giudecca.
[3] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Pilosus*, foll. 15 B, 22 A.
[4] Monticolo, loc. cit., p. 157.

trade regulations prescribe the number of the furnaces (*fornace et fornello qui habeat tres bocas*), necessary to secure a pure and flawless glass; the wood employed for the furnaces must be either elm or willow (*cum lignis de honario et lignis de salicis*); the shape and number of bottles to be made; each bottle is to have a blue band round the top with the government mark (*circulo laçuro cum bulla comunis*); the material to be employed in making the glass, and so on.[1] The Republic favoured and protected the growth of the glass-industry, and the Murano workman who left the State was treated as a traitor; it was also strictly forbidden to carry out of the country either raw material or tools employed in the manufacture of glass. The glass-workers of Murano enjoyed the rank of *cittadini originari*, and the sons of a Venetian patrician who had wedded the daughter of a glass-bead maker, did not forfeit their right to a seat in the Great Council, but after going through the ordinary proof before the Avogadori, were inscribed in the Libro d'oro just as though they had been the offspring of a noble marriage.[2]

The *circulo laçuro* with which bottles were marked is the earliest germ of coloured glass, which was subsequently produced, from 1317 to 1330, by a certain Giovanni *fioler* of Murano, *melior in dicta arte, aliquo alio*. This coloured glass was used for windows; and in 1318 the factories of Murano received a commission to supply the stained glass windows for Assisi; in 1335 Master Marco, glass-painter, decorated the windows of a chapel in the Frari; in 1400 the Duke of Milan summoned Tomasin Axandri, a Venetian, to paint the windows in the Duomo; in 1404 another Venetian, named

[1] *Capitulare de Fiolariis*, loc. cit., p. 317, n. 5, 7, 36, 38.
[2] See Decree of December 22, 1376.

Niccolò, also went with his son to Milan to work in the Duomo.[1]

The trade of making *rulli*, those little roundels of glass for windows, was of great antiquity; and, if we are to believe some writers, between 1365 and 1369 capital letters in glass had been invented by a certain Natale, a Venetian not to be confounded with Pietro de Natali, Bishop of Jesolo.[2] We know for certain that in the thirteenth century spectacles (*vitrei ab oculis ad legendum*), an invention due to the Florentine Salvino degli Armati, dating from the year 1286, began to be manufactured in Venice; they were made of rock crystal or yellow quartz and were imitated in glass, and from this imitation of quartz in glass came the great business of the bead-makers, *perlai* or *conterie*,[3] started, perhaps, about the beginning of the Quattrocento, for criticism has destroyed the legend of Domenico Miotti and Cristoforo Briani, who it was said, on the suggestion of Marco Polo, founded the celebrated industry of making beads, which were employed in trading with all savage races along the Asiatic and African coasts and frequently had the value of coin. The *perlaio*, or bead-maker, *a ferrazza e a spiedo*, took the long tubes of glass, cut them into short fragments, ran a fine iron wire (*spiedo*) through them, and worked them over the fire till they came out rounded like pearls (*margherite*).

We do not know who was the inventor of those famous mirrors of stainless glass which went to adorn the halls of princes and from France to Persia

[1] Cecchetti, *Monografia*, cit., pp. 10, 13.

[2] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, Vol. VI, p. 956.

[3] The word *conterie* signifies every kind of cylindrical bead made in Venice. *Margherites* mean the round beads which are manufactured from hollow tubes of glass; the word comes from the Greek μαργαρίτης = pearl, gem.

rendered famous the little island of Murano. Documents of the thirteenth century frequently contain the word *speglarius;* in 1317 there is record of a German master-workman at Murano *qui vitrum a speculis laborare sciebat.* But the German went back to his own place, leaving his partners in Murano with more alum than mirrors, and for a long time to come looking-glasses were still made of steel.[1] In the *mariegola dei Marzeri*, belonging to the seventeenth century, we find a notice of a certain Vincenzo Redor, who came from Germany in 1420, as *inventor et fondator di specchi cristallini;* but this statement lacks documentary support. Not that we exclude the probable presence of German workmen at Murano, but German glass-workers and their work cannot have been held in much account in Germany itself if it be true that the Emperor Frederic III, visiting Venice in 1452, and receiving the present of a magnificent service of Murano glass, ordered his buffoon to upset the table on which it stood, remarking that had the service been of gold, it would not have been so easily broken. On his return more solid, and to his taste more agreeable, gifts were offered him.

The Museo Civico of Venice contains a fine specimen of mediæval Murano glass-work in the precious wedding goblet of blue glass covered with coloured enamel and gold, whose date is about 1440. Within a gold border enclosed by two bands of golden arabesques are two portrait medallions, of a maid and of a youth. On either side are groups, one showing six women galloping towards a fountain, the other the fountain itself, with four naked women bathing in it, while two others stand on the brink. Lazari thinks that this is the work of Angelo Beroviero of

[1] Cecchetti, *Monografia*, p. 11.

Murano, the most exquisite artist in a family of famous artificers which begins with an Antonio *phiolarius*, working at Murano in the thirteenth century.[1] Of Angelo we have records in 1424, and his contemporaries are profuse in their praise both of Angelo and of his sons as incomparable makers of goblets and vases of blue, milky white, chalcedony, and turquoise glass, adorned with gold reliefs, graffiti, enamelled figures, etc. After the death of their father and brothers the business was carried on at the sign of the "Angiolo" by Giovanni and Maria Beroviero, with whom resided the secret of enamelled glass. The secret of the method was stolen by a servant of Maria, called Giorgio, most likely a native of Spalato, nicknamed *ballarin* from a defect in his legs which gave him a mincing gait; the sobriquet descended to his family.[2] Giorgio opened a furnace, acquired fame and riches, and died leaving several sons who carried on the art with great success.[3]

Among the artistic industries of Venice least affected by Byzantine influence was the potter's art, which owed more to Roman tradition. Excavations in the estuary have brought to light Roman *amphorae* of terra cotta, long and thin in form; vases with elegant handles; lamps in the shape of triangular shields, or open, with

[1] Lazari, *Notitia*, etc., p. 96. A beautiful enamelled glass plate in the Museum at Trent is also attributed to Beroviero. The Museo Nazionale at Florence has another blue glass goblet of Murano work. It is the property of the Societa Colombaria fiorentina. It has a double border of enamel round the lip and round the stem, which is fluted and relieved in gold. The bowl represents the triumph of Justice. On a car drawn by two wild beasts sits a woman under a baldachino, with sword and scales. She is surrounded by a train of women, two of whom have the emblems of Charity and Strength. She is preceded by other women representing Arithmetic, Temperance, Abundance.

[2] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, Vol. VI, p. 468.

[3] Levi, C. A., *L'arte del Vetro in Murano e i Berroviero*. Venezia, 1895.

the burner thrust out and little ears pierced so as to allow them to be hung up. Pottery never ceased to be made in the lagoons, and about the eleventh century the potters began to apply a red or yellow glaze to their earthenware.[1] They covered the unbaked pots with a fine coating of Vicenza clay, and immersed them in a bath of tartar and sand from the Lago di San Giovanni, called *terra ghetta*.[2] The shape of the pots, and their decoration with leaves in graffito or in paint, on the inside only, the outside being left in the rough, clearly show Arab or Moorish influence. Various laws of the fourteenth century prove that the guild of the potters (*scutellariorum de petra*), whose statutes bear the date 1300, was already flourishing in Venice, and there is record of a *donna Francesca scudelera*, who at the time of the war of Chioggia offered to her country one thousand ducats.[3] After the middle of the fourteenth century the *scodellai* took the name of *bocaleri*, jug-makers, and formed a confraternity under the protection of San Michele.

When, about 1442,[4] Luca della Robbia discovered the way to glaze the surface of works of plastic art, the industry soon began to flourish in Venice. Between 1450 and 1470 the vault of one of the chapels of San Giobbe was covered with terra cotta, most probably glazed by Florentine workmen; and about the same date and probably by workmen from Faenza, the

[1] Piccolpasso, Cipriano, *I tre libri dell' arte del vasaio*; ed. di Pesaro, 1879.

[2] Ibid., ibid.

[3] Urbani de Gheltof, *Studi intorno alla ceramica Veneziana*. Venezia, 1876.

[4] At Peretola as early as 1442 we find the background of the Christ and part of the architecture painted and glazed by Luca; and in 1443 the lunette with the resurrection over the door of the new sacristy.

pavement of the sacristy of Sant' Elena, of which no trace is now left, was laid in square tiles, each of which bore an eagle in blue on a white ground with the word "Iustiniani."[1]

Porcelain, shown to the Venetians for the first time by Marco Polo on his return from his voyages, was not made in Venice earlier than the fifteenth century. It became the fashion after Sultan Abulfer Hamer, in 1461, sent the following presents to the Doge Pasquale Malipiero: "Benzoi rotoli 30; legno aloë rotoli 20; due paia tappeti; una ampolletta di balsamo; teriaca bossoletti 15; zuccheri moccari pani 42; zuccheri canditi scattole 5; Zibetto, un cornetto; *porcellane* pezzi 20, cioè 7 piattine, 5 scudelle, 4 grande et una piccola, piattine 5 grande, 3 scudelle una biaua et 2 bianche."[2] Porcelain, which used to be so rare among the Venetians as to be considered a gift fit for princes, soon began to be made in Venice, if we can trust a letter of 1470, which speaks of a *maestro Antonio archimista*, who had opened a furnace at San Simeone, where he produced *porcelane trasparenti et vaghissime, che pareno venuti da barbaria et forse megliori.*[3]

Contact with the Orient kept alive that keen sense of colour which was one of the peculiar gifts of the Venetians. It was from the East that the Venetians brought their stuffs and silks of vivid dyes. The account given by the monk of San Gall is well known; he says that the courtiers of Charlemagne in 875 bought from Venetians in Pavia robes adorned with peacock's feathers, sashes of purple, cloths and silks of every hue.

[1] Lazari, *Notizia*, p. 77.

[2] Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi* (*Rer. It. Script.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 1169–1170).

[3] It is a letter of a certain Padre *Uielmo da Bologna*, published by Urbani in the *Bollettino d'Arti*, etc., An. I, 1877, p. 81. The source of the document is not given.

Charlemagne himself, though of austere and simple habits, yet loved to wear a Venetian tunic, so say the Frankish writers; and a fragment of a law enacted by Doge Otto Orseolo (1009), inserted in the Chronicle of John the Deacon, tells us that the Doge and his assessors held a public inquiry as to the markets where Venetian traders sold the valuable *pallii*, webs of silk manufactured in Venice.[1]

We find no trace of the cultivation of silk at this date among the Venetians, and the raw material must have been brought from Spain, Sicily, the Abruzzi, and Dalmatia.[2] As early as the twelfth century the looms of Venice produced the cloth-of-gold and of silver, and the crimson damask, which during the middle ages used to adorn the walls of palaces and castles throughout Europe. Nor had Venetian artificers to go far afield to find specimens of the handiwork of the more industrious foreign nations. Ravenna was a meeting-place

[1] "Inquisicio facta est de pallie que portabant per loca Italie veni ego Otto dux in publico placito cum maiores iudices nostrae terrae, mediocres et minores testificaverunt Badovario Bragadino et Mauricius Maurreceni et Dominicus Florencius Flabianicus, quod in nullis partibus Italiae debuissent pallia portare vel venundare, nisi a Papia et a Mercato Sancti Martini (*de Strada*) et Olivo (*Olivolo*)." *Cron. del diac. Giovanni*, p. 178.

[2] Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, Vol. V, p. 226 (*Episcopi arbenses*). Under *Madius sive Maius et Arbem*, we find the following: "In nomine Domini Dei, et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, anno ab incarnatione eiusdem 1018, mense Julio, indict. prima, in civitate Arben. Spondentes spondemus, promittentes promittimus nos quidem Maius Episcopus dictae civitatis Arben. simul cum Tribuno . . . Bellata Priore nostro, una pariter cum Clero et populo, habitante in civitate supradicta, cum successoribus, seu hæredibus nostris, vobis D. Othoni seniori nostro Duci Venetorum et Dalmaticorum, et successoribus vestris tributum dare omni anno, libras de seta serica decem." In a letter of May 14, 1280, written by Gregorio Dolce, a jurisconsult residing in Venice, we hear of a parcel *de seta de locis Torcelli* sold to the merchant Alberto di Manfredi. Urbani de Gheltof, *Les Arts ind. à Venise*, p. 134. Venise, 1885. But we cannot be sure of the authenticity of this last document.

STANDARD or pennant of Sa. Fosca (1366).
(Museo di Torcello)

for workmen of all countries. For example, as a specimen of Carolingian loom-work, we still have those marvellous three stripes of embroidery, belonging to the first half of the ninth century and known as the *Velo di Classe*, because they came from the convent of Classe, and also the delicate work of the *casula* of Giovanni Angeloptes which dates from the tenth century.[1] The *mariegola* of the *Scuola di San Teodoro* alludes to a Venetian embroidery of 1009, and to an altar cloth of crimson taffeta with three embroidered figures; of the same nature, too, must have been that piece of embroidery *in quo est virginis Marie mortem designatam*, which Enrico Morosini left to the monks of San Salvatore in 1206;[2] also the *pani Theotonici* made for the church of San Francesco in Treviso by Marco, a painter living in Venice, — stuffs that find a place in the famous inventory of the notary Forzetta. This embroidered or woven work, of which we have a magnificent example in the standard or banner of Santa Fosca at Torcello (1366), was known as *pictus*, either, as Muratori observes, because it may be said to have been painted with the needle, *pictus acu*, or in reference to the cartoon of the designer which it closely followed. The high pitch of excellence achieved by the art of weaving or embroidering is illustrated by the handsome piece of embroidered silk executed in the fifteenth century and until lately preserved in the church of Sant' Alvise, whence it passed to foreign hands; it is thus described by Boschini: "Apparamento fatto tutto di Ponto o ricamo di seta, oro e perle, et ivi si vede tutta

[1] Cipolla, *Il Velo di Classe* (in the *Gallerie Naz. Ital.*, Vol. III, pp. 195–249. Roma, 1897). Venturi, *La Casula di Giovanni Angeloptes*, same work and vol., p. 258.

[2] Urbani di Gheltof, *Degli arazzi in Venezia*, p. 63. Venezia, 1878.

la Passione di Cristo: opera veramente singolare et rara Pittura, fatta con l'ago dalle monache di quel monasterio."[1] There is also the tradition of an ancient inventory of precious objects and rich stuffs, given in 1443, by the Bishop Tomaso Tomasini Paruta to the nuns of the Corpus Domini.[2] It is said to have included *pluviali* (copes) *cremesini con li fregi recamadi d'oro e de seda, a Santi bellissimi; pianede* (chasubles) *de pano de seda*, of various colours, *con la croxe d'oro recamada a Santi;* gloves and socks of taffeta and slippers of cloth-of-gold, *e rocheti de tela zentil.* Among other precious objects we find "Pani do d'altar, uno che ha uno Crucefixo, in zenochion messer lo Vescovo con l'habito di messer San Domenego con fiori e topoleti su per el pano el si è de tafetà de cremesin."

The industry of silk weaving, which received a remarkable impulse in 1316 from the craftsmen of Lucca expelled by Castruccio, who spread over Italy, France, Germany and England,[3] always found a warm support from the Venetian government. With that intent the Maggior Consiglio and the Senate carried decrees against the importation of silks and velvets (February, 1365), against the adulteration of raw material (July 20, 1392), against the importation of any silk stuffs not made in Venice (July 13, 1410). They regulated the number of looms, limited to five for each weaver (January 15, 1418). Permission to exercise the art was personal and not transferable (August 25, 1422). The dyes were to

[1] Boschini, *Le ricche minere della Pitt. Ven.*, p. 456. Venezia, MDCLXIV.

[2] Agostini, *Not. istor. crit. intorno la vita e le opere degli Scrittori Veneziani*, Vol. I, pp. 476 et seq. Venezia, MDCCLII.

[3] In 1359 the Lucchesi erected a confraternity in Venice under the protection of the Volto Santo. The oratory of the Volto Santo stood near the church of the Servites; some remains of it are still to be seen.

be *cremese*, *lana grana* and *verzin* (July 5, 1459); provision was taken for the quality of the work in silk, cloth-of-gold and cloth-of-silver (August 13, 1462).[1]

The art of tanning hides and making leather was no less important; both were sold in the Levant and in Spain. Venice, first among Italian cities, produced, towards the close of the fourteenth century, stamped leather in imitation of the Oriental fabric.

The treasury of San Marco still preserves some remains of the vast and splendid booty which fell to the share of Venice on the sack of Constantinople.[2] The goblets of gold enamel, the reliquaries dating from the tenth century, the bindings of various codices blaze like jewels and recall an age of sumptuous magnificence. Nor was Constantinople the sole source from which artistic Venice enriched itself. Dalmatia, where Roman art had showered its treasures, more especially in the temple of Diocletian at Spalato, yielded many and beautiful objects to the lagoons. Bronzes, marbles, jewels, hangings, arms, all went to adorn the triumph of Venetian soldiery; while admiration for these treasures served as a stimulus to native craftsmen and infused fresh vigour into the arts of the glass-worker, the mosaicist, the goldsmith, the metal workers, the weavers of wool and silk.

But even before the conquest of Constantinople had opened new fields for artistic industry and introduced new modes of life, certain Venetian arts were already well established. Venetian goldsmiths' and jewellers' work had become so famous that in an inventory of the chapel of Saint-Denis in France the magnificent cross made for the Abbot Sugger, who died in 1152, is described

[1] Bini, *I Lucchesi a Venezia*. Lucca, 1858.

[2] Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*. Ginevra, 1877.

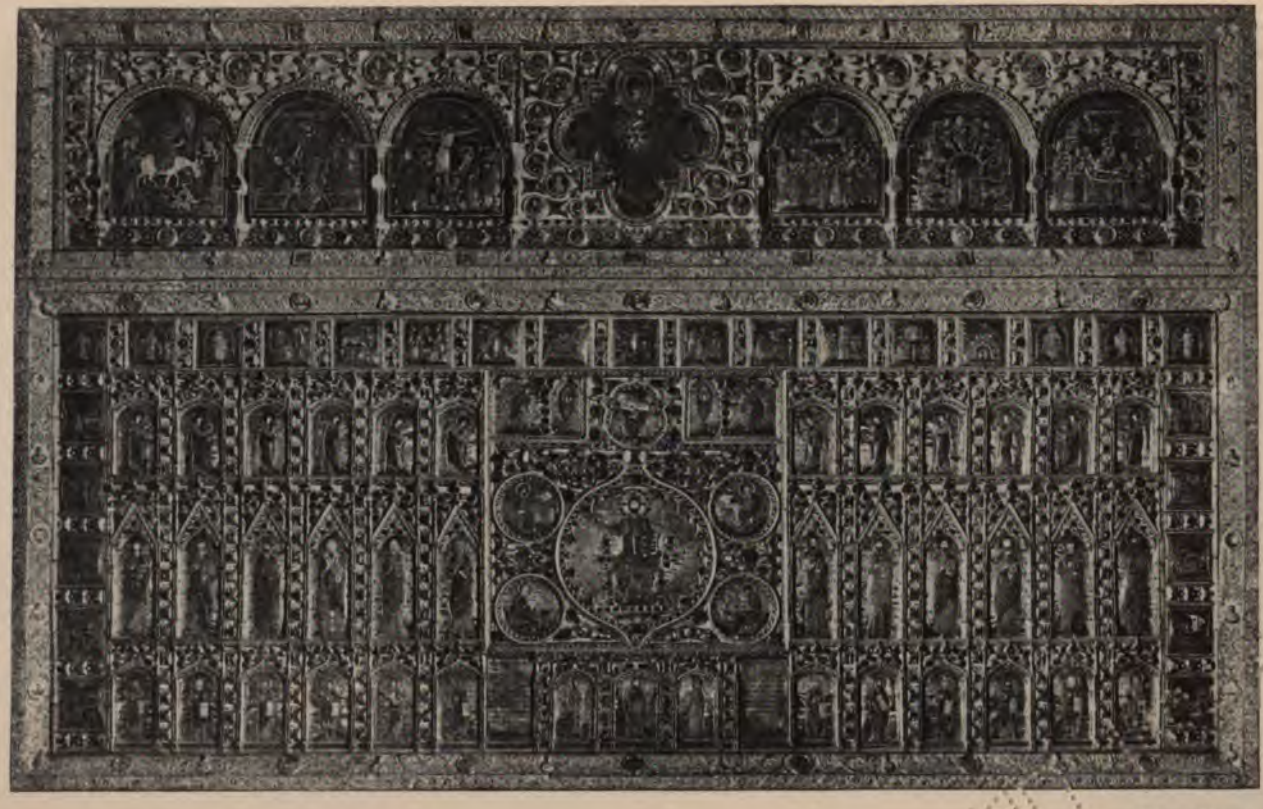
as having "trente-huit grands saphirs assis sur grands fermeilletz d'or à jour à quatre demi-compas *de façon de Venise.*" [1]

The trade in gems and gold ornaments, which Venetians brought from the East and sold in Europe, was active. Jewelry of the finest and most delicate workmanship, *omnes orientalium divitias,*[2] was brought by Venetians chiefly to the fairs at Pavia and the cities of Western France, such as Limoges, where, according to a tradition that lacks all foundation, the Doge Pietro Orseolo, when in exile (998), is said to have introduced Venetian artificers to teach the craft of glass enamelling. It is, however, by no means improbable that certain specimens of Byzantine enamel may have been brought by Venetians to Limoges, and have helped to develop the industry for which that city became famous.[3] Enamel was employed for the decoration of church plate, and in the miniatures on metal which adorned altars and reliquaries. The most magnificent specimen of this work during the middle ages is the Pala d'oro of San Marco. It was ordered in 976 at Constantinople by the Doge Pietro Orseolo I, and was enlarged and enriched with gems and modified in form, first by a Greek artificer in 1105 and then by Venetians between 1209 and 1345. It is composed of sacred figures in Byzantine enamel run into gold plates. Its width is three metres forty-eight centimetres, its height one metre forty centimetres. Before the fall of the republic the Pala had 1300 great pearls, 400 garnets,

[1] Pasini, *Sul frontale dell' altar maggiore in San Marco di Venezia.* Venezia, 1881.

[2] Monachi Sangallensis, *De gestis Karoli imp.*, L. II, § 17 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 760).

[3] De Verneilh, *L'arch. byzantine en France*, p. 132. Paris, 1851.



Basilica of S. Marco — The Pala d'Oro

(Photo Naya)

90 amethysts, 300 sapphires, 300 emeralds, 15 rubies, 75 balas rubies, 4 topazes, 2 cameos.[1]

The Pala d'oro in the parish church of Carole is also a striking example of Byzantine craftsmanship. It is composed of six squares of silver-gilt repoussé work; two belong to the tenth and four to the twelfth century. Other specimens are the thirteen plaques of the same material and of like date which belonged to the Pala of the duomo at Torcello and are now in the museum of that island, and the Madonna and Child, once in the cathedral of Torcello and now in the South Kensington Museum. Under such masters and with such models native industry made striking advances, till, about the close of the twelfth century, it was able to produce such a work as the *edicola,* or gilded bronze *Pax*,[2] engraved with the burin in borders and figures in enamel, now preserved in the Museo Civico; and, in 1290, the beautiful Pala of silver-gilt belonging to San Salvatore, composed of five horizontal compartments adorned with figures of saints and borders, the earliest work of importance produced by Venetian goldsmiths.

Other important branches of the same art were filigree work and those fine golden chains, first of all called *entrecosei*,[3] but now known as *manini*, or

[1] Veludo, *La pala d'oro*, in Pasini's *Il tesoro di San Marco*. Venezia, Ongania, 1887.

[2] The Pax departs from the Byzantine style and betrays the notes of Italian art in its earliest stages. Lazari holds it to be a specimen of Venetian work, and assigns it to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century on the ground of its resemblance to the earliest Venetian mosaics and to the primitive work of Venetian painters. But the influence of Byzantine art has not entirely disappeared. Lazari, *Notizia*, pp. 104, 180.

[3] So called from their *lavoro intrecciato* (Mutinelli, *Lessico Veneto*). Gallicciolli is in error in stating that they were made of spirals, not of rings.

Venetian chain, a charming ornament made of tiny rings which a ridiculous fashion confined to the women of the people. Ancient inventories make mention of necklaces *cum crysolito* or *cum topatio* or *cum smaragdo pulcherrimo* or *cum lapide vetusto et miro opere sculpture immissum serpentem*. In a will of 1123 Pietro Enzio leaves to his daughter *unum parum de entrecoseis aureis, quas ei date fiant in die desponsacionis sue et cupam meam argenteam*.[1] Another will of 1190 speaks of valuable plate, including *duas cupas de argento unam sculptam cum apostolis, aliam puram de argento*.[2] Other documents of the eleventh to the fourteenth century refer to gold, gems, rings, to *cupe argentee facte ad nielo* (1090), to *anelli d'oro* (1130), to *coppe, nappi e cucchiai d'argento* (1177),[3] to *uno anulus aureus ad arma de cha Dandulo ad smaldos*.[4] Venetian goldsmiths seem to have been especially famous for their rings.[5] It is certain that after learning their art from Byzantine masters they received important commissions from all quarters; for example, Marino Nadal in 1225 was charged by the Emperor Frederic II to make him a golden crown set with pearls and gems (*zoia*).[6] The will of Pietro Vioni, December 10, 1264, speaks of a *tauleri doppio* (a folding board) for playing chess or *marelle*, which was wrought in crystal, jasper, silver, and other precious stones and pearls; and the like

[1] Monumenta Ecclesiae Venetae Sancti Moysis, etc., p. 20. Venetiis, 1758.

[2] *Codice del Piovego*, p. 158.

[3] Some of these documents have been arranged in the series *Manimorte* at the Archivio di Stato, and are cited by Cecchetti in the *Archivio Veneto*, T. XXXVI, p. 163.

[4] See Appendix, Doc. C, *Inventarii*, n. VII.

[5] Melani, *Svaghi artistici femminili*, p. 188. Milano, Hoepli.

[6] Arch. di Stato, *Lib. Plegiorum*, Reg. Predelli, n. 333.

were also used to adorn saddles. Vioni further possessed goblets of crystal *con argiento e cho pietre e cho perle*.[1] We find the *opus Veneticum* frequently appearing in the inventories of churches and of shrines. In 1296 Charles II of Naples enriched the treasury of San Niccolò of Bari with various precious objects in *opus Venetiarum*;[2] and in 1300 the Venetian ambassadors present the same sovereign with a handsome set of silver plate. The inventory of the Holy See, compiled in 1295[3] under Boniface VIII, gives us *urceum de argento de opere Venetico ad filum cum diversis imaginibus sub cristallis*; the great cross of silver repoussé in the cathedral of Padua, dating from the thirteenth century, is also the work of artificers under Byzantine influence. In the Trecento we read of *res et iocalia tam de auro quam de argento*, of *cutelli a tabula a manicis lefanti cum varetis de argento*, of *cuppe d'argento cum pedibus inauratis cum smaldis coopertis ad opera francisca*, of silver drinking cups *ad opera turchesca*, of *piruli d'ambra da olire*, and even of *curadentes de argento*.[4] In 1334 a certain Master

[1] The document was published by Cecchetti in the *Archivio Veneto*, T. XXXVI, p. 163.

[2] The document in the archive of San Niccolò di Bari is dated from Naples (*apud Castrum novum*) April 15, 1296, and frequently mentions *opus Venetiarum* (*Perg. Angioine*, Vol. I, n. 60): "Karolus secundus, *etc.* Notumfacimus universis presentibus pariter et futuris, quod cum ad ampliandam et augmentandam ecclesiam beati Nicolai de Baro *etc.*, subscript as res tradendas specialiter duximus anno *etc.* Videlicet . . . mitrias tres quarum una est lapidibus et pernio ad *opus Venetiarum*, alia est de samito violeto cum pernis et alia tota alba circumdata pernis indicis. Item . . . vas quodam argenteum cum cohopertorio et pede et cum lapidibus, pernis et smaltis de *opere Venetiarum* pro reliquiis conservandis. Item . . . duo magna candelabra de cristallo munita argento ad *opus Venetiarum*."

[3] *Invent. de omnibus rebus inv. in thes. Sedis Apostol.*

[4] See Appendix, Doc. C, *Inventari*, nn. I–VIII.

Mondino of Cremona, goldsmith in Venice, sold to the King of Cyprus for eight hundred ducats a clock of such delicate workmanship that it had cost him a large part of his lifetime to make it.[1] The art of engraving gems must also have been known, for the inventory of the notary Forzetta (1335) records certain *teste* in precious stones (cameos) along with others in bronze, and among the medals is mentioned a portrait of the patrician Morosini.

Byzantine influence dominated Venetian goldsmiths' work for many years; it is obvious in the silver binding for the *Epistolario* in the duomo of Treviso (early fourteenth century) and in the silver repoussé reliquaries of the same epoch, which contain the heads of Saints Abdon and Sennen, the arm-bones of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, the feet of Saint George and of Saint Abdon in the cathedral at Chioggia. But Byzantine tradition itself was slowly beginning to feel the influences of the North; the two tendencies blended together are to be seen towards the close of the twelfth and all down the thirteenth century in certain Venetian work, as for example in the Capitular Cross of the thirteenth century in the church of San Raffaele; in the ostensories of silver-gilt repoussé work of the fourteenth century; in Sant' Eufemia on the Giudecca, San Luca, and Santo Stefano; in the great cross, the work of Marco Benato (1394), above the architrave of the presbytery in San Marco; in the reliquary (1371) containing a fragment of the Flagellation column in the treasury of San Marco; in the reliquary in Santo Stefano (1396); in another at Santi Ermagora and Fortunato, containing the hand of the Baptist. By the beginning of the fifteenth century

[1] Lazari, *Notizia*, p. 180.

Venetian goldsmiths[1] had grown more ready to admit the style of other schools, — the French, for example, — as is evident in the reliquary of San Tommaso, but more especially the German; both being introduced by the foreign artificers who found a ready welcome in the lagoons. The German goldsmiths left many notable works of art in Venice, such as the reliquary executed in 1472 for the nuns of Santa Marta by Johann Leon of Cologne, recently sold to the Rothschilds of Paris; another executed in 1492 for the church of San Salvadore by Conrad Herpel. As a matter of fact the Gothic style was better adapted for church ornaments, and even the celebrated family of Da Sesto[2] who were such remarkable innovators, did not abandon that form. The founder of the house was Giacomo Da Sesto, buried at Santo Stefano in 1404; he had a son, Bernardo, father of Lorenzo and Marco, grandfather to Bernardo, son of Marco. This Bernardo was the ablest of his family; witness the splendid work at Venzone and Gemona.[3] The famous workshop of the Da Sesto continued active for many years, and it may be that it produced the admirable banner stand of silver gilt in Santa Maria della Salute, and the canopy of silver gilt for the altar of San Marco, the gift of Pope Gregory XII (Angelo Correr) to the Bishop of Castello in 1408.[4]

[1] The statutes of the goldsmiths' guild, which bear the date 1262, were adopted by the Comune of Brescia in 1284 (Valentini, *Gli Statuti di Brescia*, p. 54. Venezia, 1898). The Venetian goldsmiths were united in a confraternity under the protection of Sant' Antonio abate; their altar and tomb were in San Giacomo di Rialto. A decree of the Maggior Consiglio (March 23, 1331, *Liber Spiritus*) compelled them to concentrate near the Rialto. They were forbidden to open shops in other parts of the city. One of the streets at Rialto bears the name of *Ruga degli orefici*.

[2] Molinier, *Venise, ses arts décoratifs*, etc., p. 115. Paris, 1889.

[3] Urbani de Gheltof, *Les arts ind.*, p. 22.

[4] Lazari, *Notizia*, p. 181.

At the close of the middle ages the Venetian goldworkers were absolutely devoted to the German model. The reliquary of the Cross, preserved in the church of San Giovanni Evangelista, is a notable specimen of early fifteenth century work; so are the two silver candelabra, with ogival arches, foliation, and figures, as well as the reliquary containing the arm of Saint George in the treasury of San Marco;[1] the chalice of San Samuele, and the pectoral of silver gilt and enamel at San Pantaleone, which church also possesses a silver ostensory, partly cast and partly repoussé, finely chiselled, in the form of a hexagonal ogival lantern; another ostensory at San Luca, with its cup of rock crystal.[2] From among the crowd of anonymous artists we recover the names of Vittore Assandri, Ognibene, Leone Sicuro, a certain Livio believed to be a Florentine, Livio d'Astore, Giacomo Filippo da Padova, author of a silver gilt cross studded with gems in the treasury of San Marco, and Master Antonello, who in 1476 made a cross of silver gilt and crystal for the Albanian Confraternity.

The art of the goldsmith for many years went hand in hand with the art of the workers, the fusers and engravers, of other metals. Many members of the craft handled alternately the chisel and the gouge of the goldsmith, the die and the punch of the minter, the plane and the file of the founder. To say nothing of the *seci*, pitchers of chiselled bronze, which found their way to the North, we have specimens of still more beautiful work in the two vases, belonging to the fourteenth century, of blue enamelled bronze with shell

[1] Molinier, op. cit., p. 216.

[2] "Atti del Cong. Eucharistico di Venezia" (1897), *Catalogo della Mostra*, pp. XXI, XXII, LVIII. Venezia, 1898.

decoration in white, green and blue, now in the Museo Civico of Venice.[1] We cannot ignore, though it has escaped general notice, the influence of Saracenic art on Venetian workers in metal. The delicate style of the vases and goblets chiselled by Saracenic workmen who received such support in Italy from Frederic II, found a natural home in a city of Oriental character like Venice, which soon became an active centre of this branch of the industry. The vases,[2] goblets, dishes, beakers, candelabra, censers which issued from Venetian workshops, where doubtless many Eastern hands were still employed, are of the most graceful form, with exquisite arabesques and intarsia of delicate contour, engraving and colour. Later on, in the sixteenth century, we come across the name of an Eastern master frequently engraved on saucers for ices and on the vases of Venetian origin, now preserved in the South Kensington Museum; he was called Mahmud-El-Kurdi, and probably came from the country of the Kurds, on the banks of the Euphrates; he brought with him the traditions of metal work in Mesopotamia.[3] But even before his day, during the middle ages, other Arab artificers must have served as masters to the Venetians, from whose shops came metal work in bronze and gold of exquisite taste which blended Latin genius with Oriental fancy.

Bronze-founding also made rapid advance towards perfection. The bronze gate, with intarsia of various metals and figures of saints in grafitto, standing in the

[1] Museo Civico, *Elenco degli oggetti esposti*, p. 188, n. 910, 911.

[2] "Les inventaires des XIV et XV siècles en mentionnent quelques-uns. Ces vases sont de cuivre. On les fabriquait principalement à Venise, et ils passaient en Occident pour des ouvrages de Damas, c'est à dire d'Orient." Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. du mobilier*, 2e partie, p. 148.

[3] South Kensington Museum, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, Stanley Lane-Poole.

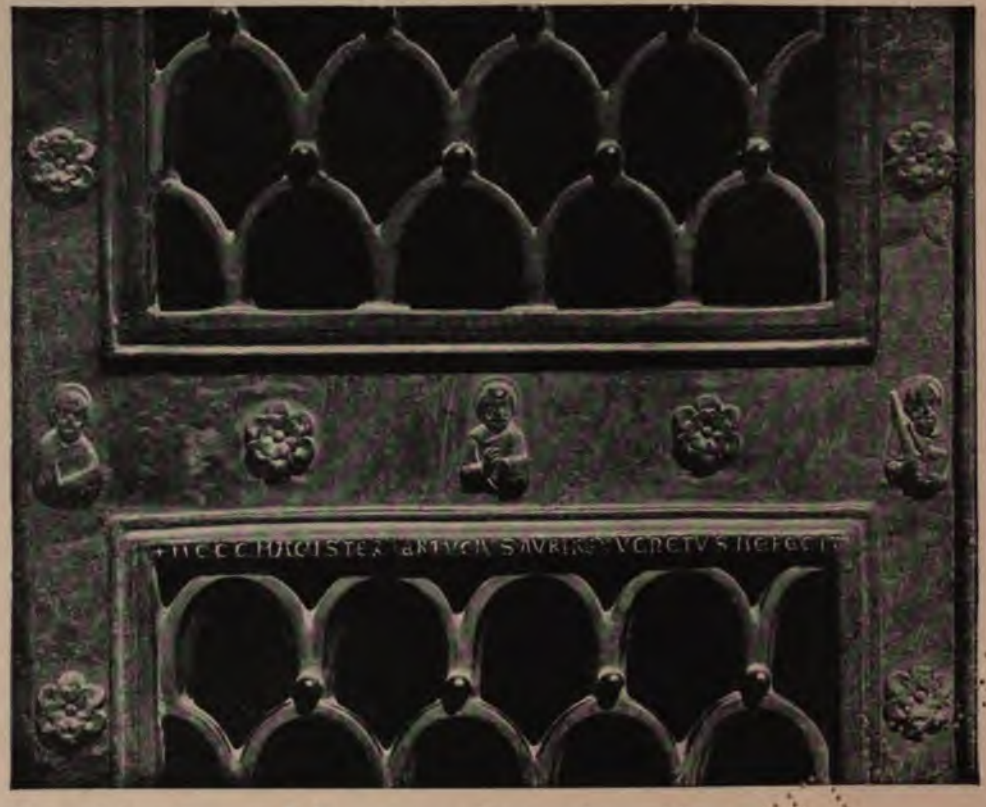
vestibule of San Marco, is the work of Venetian artificers of the twelfth century. It was ordered, as its inscription records, by Leone da Molino, Procurator of Saint Mark's in 1112: *Leo da Molino hoc opus fieri jussit.* The two bronze candelabra in San Giorgio in Italo-Byzantine style, belong to the thirteenth century. The name of th[illegible]ith and founder Bertuccio of the fo[illegible]appears upon another door in the fac[illegible]o: *MCCC. Magister Bertucius Auri[illegible]* [illegible]s were adorned with figures and ins[illegible]ample, those of San Pietro di Castell[illegible] San Zaccaria (1333), cast by Jacopo [illegible]Venezia; the bells of Santa Marta, rer[illegible]panile of Santa Fosca, which had figure[illegible]i and of Santa Fosca, the monogram [illegible]and this inscription:

† MCCCXLVII + IN TEMPORE. DNE. PERINE. DUODO. ABADISE. S. MARTE.[1]

Besides Bertuccio, Jacopo, Nicola, and Master Leonardo d'Avanzo, who in 1332 cast the bronze gates of the Baptistry at Florence from designs by Andrea Pisano, we find mentioned, among founders of the fourteenth century working in Venice, Bonacosso, Marino, and Giovanni *teutonico.* If Venetian master-founders were of such repute in the Trecento as to be called to Tuscany for so important a work as the casting of the Baptistry door, we need not reject Ruskin's conjecture that the lion on the column of the Piazzetta is the work of Venetian founders of the thirteenth century.[2] Others, however, hold that the lion, which was once gilded, came from Greece; while others, again,

[1] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, Vol. V, p. 150.

[2] Boni, *Il leone di' San Marco* (*Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, anno V, p. 306. Roma, 1892).



Outside Gate of Bronze at S. Marco, work of Bertuccio Orefice (1300)

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displayed elegant lines. A specimen is to be seen in the loggia of the Ducal Palace, wrongly called the loggia of Ziani. The panels of the doors of palaces were carved and ornamented in the purest taste; for example, the door of the Palazzo Soranzo, now Van Axel, and the fragments of the door of the Palazzo Bernardo, preserved in the Museo Civico. Even finer work was made in the monasteries, where wood carving and intarsia, known as *alla certosina*, and introduced from the East, were carried to a high perfection. Elaborate frames of carved and gilded woodwork surrounded the early paintings, and the wood-carver supplemented the work of the artist not only by foliated ornament but by adding statues and bas-reliefs, either gilded or coloured, as in the panel in San Donato in Murano. The frame round the *Ancona* by Lorenzo Veneziano at the Accademia, lately restored, was carved by a sculptor who placed his name, *Caninus sculptore* (1337), beside that of the painter. Contemporary with Zanino was Catarino, son of Master Andrea, who carved the altar frontal with thirteen groups in high relief, once in the church of the Corpus Domini and now in the Museo Civico.[1]

Among all the carvers of the fourteenth century the family of Moranzone was the most distinguished.[2] Sometimes the carver and the painter were one and the same person. It is supposed that Giovanni d'Allemagna made the pinnacles, open work, arabesques, and ribbon patterns which surround the figures painted by him in company with Antonio Vivarini. Very fine examples of this fantastic woodwork are the *Ancone* of San

[1] Elenco del Museo, p. 193, n. 99.

[2] Paoletti, *L'Arch. e la Scult. del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Part I, p. 80. Venezia, 1893.

collections of arms were in high esteem in a city of such warlike character as Venice. Cross-bows of fine workmanship were manufactured in steinbock horn[1] and with a magazine that allowed them to fire eight consecutive shots. Such was the bow made in 1411 by a certain Giacomo Gaiardo and sold to the Portuguese ambassador for seventy-six ducats of gold; by a single pull of the trigger it launched no less than fifteen darts.[2] Morions and coats of mail for the common soldiers, and for the officers suits of armour of the usual kind, helmet, jerkin, arm-piece, gauntlets, thigh-piece, knee-piece, and shin-guard, such as we see in the statue of Giacomo Cavalli (1384) on his tomb in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, were all made in Venice. Helmets and cuirasses for tournaments, of various designs, were imported from abroad. As early as 1317 we have notice of an armoury in the Ducal Palace,[3] where, among other weapons, were preserved the cuirass, morion, and steel buckler, beautifully wrought, the sword with its silver-gilt hilt and velvet scabbard embroidered with silver, said to have belonged to the Doge Sebastiano Ziani (1173–1179).

Wood carving, of which we have very early notice, showed grace even in the commoner objects. The wooden brackets carried on columns and pilasters, to be found in most buildings, were carefully finished and

and erected a confraternity in 1297. Their shops were near San Giuliano, in the street still called the *Spadaria*. At the entrance to the *Spadaria* is carved a shield of the fourteenth century with a lion passant above three swords. The arrowsmiths (*frezeri*) were congregated in a quarter of San Marco still called the *Frezzaria*. The corslet-makers gave their names to a street at Sant' Antonino. The most ancient guild of smiths gave their name only so late as the sixteenth century to a street near San Moisè.

[1] Monticolo, *Capitolari*, p. 171 (*Capitolare dei fabbricanti di balestre*, § 1).

[2] Lazari, *Notizia*, p. 244.

[3] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Clericus-Civicus*, fol. 96 V°.

displayed elegant lines. A specimen is to be seen in the loggia of the Ducal Palace, wrongly called the loggia of Ziani. The panels of the doors of palaces were carved and ornamented in the purest taste; for example, the door of the Palazzo Soranzo, now Van Axel, and the fragments of the door of the Palazzo Bernardo, preserved in the Museo Civico. Even finer work was made in the monasteries, where wood carving and intarsia, known as *alla certosina*, and introduced from the East, were carried to a high perfection. Elaborate frames of carved and gilded woodwork surrounded the early paintings, and the wood-carver supplemented the work of the artist not only by foliated ornament but by adding statues and bas-reliefs, either gilded or coloured, as in the panel in San Donato in Murano. The frame round the *Ancona* by Lorenzo Veneziano at the Accademia, lately restored, was carved by a sculptor who placed his name, *Caninus sculptore* (1337), beside that of the painter. Contemporary with Zanino was Catarino, son of Master Andrea, who carved the altar frontal with thirteen groups in high relief, once in the church of the Corpus Domini and now in the Museo Civico.[1]

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[2] Paoletti, *L'Arch. e la Scult. del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Part I, p. 80. Venezia, 1893.

this rebus to be adopted as the design for the roof, which led to this fantastic explanation. The ceiling of the neighbouring Sala dell' Albergo is probably earlier. The carving which surrounds the four Evangelists betrays the influence of the new style, but the figures of the Evangelists themselves have all the qualities of the older art. Much of the earlier Venetian furniture, which the change in fashion doomed to perish in the fire or in the hucksters' shops, was certainly wrought in carving and intarsia by the Moranzone, the Canozii, the Scalamanzo, by Francesco and Marco Cozzi of Vicenza, and by Giovanni, son of Vicenzo. Lorenzo Genesino of Lendinara, nicknamed Canozio, was the founder of a whole family of famous carvers and sculptors, to whom we owe the beautiful choir of the Santo at Padua, destroyed by fire in 1779. In Venice we have the choir of San Zaccaria (1460–1464), carved by the brothers Francesco and Marco Cozzi. Marco, working alone, made the choir of the Frari (1468), and, in partnership with his son Giovanni, the choir of the duomo of Spilimbergo. He died in 1485. Another Marco from Vicenza, probably also belonging to the Cozzi family, completed the choir of Santo Stefano, begun by Leonardo Scalamanzo in 1481.[1]

As in the art of the goldsmith, so in the wood-carver's art, the French, and more especially the German, craftsmen exercised a strong influence, — an influence which acted as a check on what might well have been extravagant in Venetian art which drew its inspiration from

[1] It was usually thought that the choir of Santo Stefano was entirely the work of Marco Vicentino and was completed in 1498, but a document published by Federico Stefani (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXIX, p. 193) proves that the choir was begun in 1481–1482 by Leonardo Scalamanzo. See also the article by V. Barichella in the *Archivio Veneto*, T. XXX, p. 449.

the East. Not German merchants only, but German artificers, came to Venice, and in such numbers as to erect their own *scuole* and confraternities.[1] Long before Giovanni Enrico de Allemania, to whom the Venetian government granted a safe conduct to Rome in 1459, sprang into fame; long before Isabella d'Este, in 1516, earnestly besought a crucifix from the chisel of Michele *tedesco*, a famous sculptor then living in Venice, — many a Northern artificer was to be found in Venetian workshops, from the most ambitious to the most humble; from the German goldsmiths whom we find working along with Venetian craftsmen, to the German bootmakers, who formed a guild in 1383. We meet with German inscriptions on many artistic objects of that date; for example, on the well of the Palazzo Soranzo at San Polo we read, *Helf Her Got*. On the other hand, the Northern spirit, which in the middle ages inspired so many of these subsidiary arts, itself caught the first rays of the Renaissance dawn, and produced in Padua the splendid workmanship of the Carrarese medals; while the French sentiment appears in charming conjunction with classic tradition coming to life again in ivory work of which the Venetian estuary was, as we have already seen, an ancient centre. In very early times *litui*, or pastoral staves, were made partly at Byzantium, partly in Venice and its adjacent islands;[2] so also diptychs, portable altars, reliquaries, pyxes, chalices, and other sacred vessels; above all, those little wooden coffers covered with ivory which are common in museums. The plaque of ivory preserved in the Museo Civico[3] must

[1] Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco*, op. cit., p. 357.

[2] Schneider, *Ueber das Kairosrelief in Torcello und ihm verwandte Bildwerke*. Wien, 1896. In 1893 in the tomb of Bishop Buono Balbi of Torcello (d. 1215) was found an ivory pastoral staff.

[3] Lazari, *Notizia*, etc. Venturi, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 517.

have belonged to a coffer of the third or fourth century.

Ivory is found in conjunction with silver repoussé sometimes, as in the binding of the Gospels preserved in the church of San Pietro in Carnia, a Byzantine work of the tenth or eleventh century. Hundreds of objects, casquets, frames, combs, toys, chairs carved in painted bone, hunting horns and so on, must have issued from Venetian workshops, especially from those of the comb-makers (*pettenerí*), who were formed into a guild as early as the thirteenth century. It was not, therefore, by chance that at the close of the fourteenth century Baldassare di Simone d'Aliotto, of the Florentine branch of the Embriachi, chose Venice as his dwelling place, and in the midst of his affairs as banker and political agent for Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Count of Virtu,[1] found time to open shops for the sale of artistic ivory work.[2] The wealth of the Venetian nobility and the proximity of the chivalrous courts of Northern Italy made Venice a favourable place for the sale of works of luxury and art. This Baldassare, Genoese by blood, Florentine by birth, Venetian by adoption, seems to have united in himself the spirit of these three great cities, and his workshop, where he was surrounded by a number of master-hands and apprentices, carvers, and intarsia workers, offers us a most admirable specimen of an art manufactory in the middle ages. Between 1396 and 1409 Baldassare's shop sent out the famous triptych or *pala* for the Certosa of Pavia, the coffers (*cassoni eburnei*) ordered by Gian

[1] *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, serie II, anno II, p. 29. 1896.

[2] Schlosser, *Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig*. (In the twelfth volume of the *Jahrbuches der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*. Wien, 1899.)

Galeazzo Visconti, which were afterwards altered and sent to the monastery of Pavia, and are now preserved in the casa Cagnola[1] at Milan, all of them models of supreme delicacy. White bone and intarsia work are blended together; the subjects — the story of Paris, of Maltabruna, of Pyramus and Thisbe, of Jason, the Virtues, cupids bearing shields, and so on — are the subjects common to the coffers which issued from the firm of Embriachi. Besides the Visconti, the Embriachi had as patrons great French families like the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, in whose inventories we find recorded coffers which probably came from the famous Venetian workshop. This work in dazzling white bone even came into competition with the ebony work of the French craftsmen, whose portable altars, mirror frames, games, etc. had found much favour both in Italy and Germany, but after the opening of the twelfth century were on the decline.[2] The bone-work of Venice answered the same purposes, but the inspiration of the designs was different. The art owed its prosperity, which was continued during the next century, to the energy and ability of a single craftsman, Baldassare.[3]

The *Cronaca* of Martino da Canal describes with vivid simplicity a fête of the middle ages wherein

[1] Schlosser, op. cit.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Other members of the Embriachi family besides Baldassare and his sons, also took up their abode in Venice. We find a Ser Andrea in the middle of the Quattrocento living at San Basegiò (Basilio); the brothers, Ser Giovanni and Ser Antonio, who died in 1431 and 1433, were owners of a workshop of ebonists at San Luca; Ser Nicolò, mentioned in 1412; three sons of Ser Antonio, Geronimo, Domenico, and Lorenzo (this last died at Florence in 1483, and was buried in Santa Maria Novella), who in 1433 wound up the business of their father and uncle with the assistance of the Florentine ambassador Giuliano Davanzati. Paoletti, *L'arch. e la scult. del Rin.*, cit., P. I, p. 82.

were blended the arts and crafts and riches of the day. When Lorenzo Tiepolo was elected Doge in 1268, the craft guilds of Venice went to salute the new head of the State. There were the glass-blowers; the smiths with their banner and with garlands on their heads; the furriers in ermine and doublets of samite and taffeta; the weavers with silver cloth tippets; the tailors in white with crimson stars; the wool-carders with olive crowns on their heads; the masters of the cotton-spinners with cloaks of fustian; the quilters with garlands of gilt beads and white capes sown with fleurs-de-lys; the cloth-of-gold and cloth-of-purple makers with hoods of cloth-of-gold and gilt beads; the mercers in silk; the pork-butchers in scarlet; the fishmongers in cloaks lined with vair; the barbers with garlands on their heads; the goldsmiths wearing sapphires, emeralds, diamonds, topazes, jacinths, amethysts, rubies, jaspar, carbuncles. Under the loggias and in the courts of the Palace each guild set forth its wares on benches and boards, and offered the earliest, and perhaps the most notable, example of an industrial exhibition. In the midst of festivals like these and surrounded by such visions of splendour we draw to the close of the old days.

CHAPTER XII

THE FINE ARTS

ROMANESQUE architecture, which was in full decline by the end of the fourth century, produced but little during the next two centuries. The massive tomb of Theodoric (d. 526) alone is worthy of the great Roman emperors and of him who sought to imitate them. But this decline was arrested by the advent of the Byzantine style, which assimilated and preserved some of the characteristics of Romanesque. The Italian homes of Byzantine art were Ravenna — suffice it to name those striking buildings Sant' Apollinare Nuovo and San Vitale — and Venice, which attracted Greek artificers from Byzantium and perhaps from Ravenna itself. As illustrations of Byzantine architecture of the sixth century in the lagoons, we may take the duomo and baptistry of Grado, and the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in the same city.

When, owing to the Lombard invasion and the wretched condition of the whole of Italy in the seventh century, foreign artists abandoned the peninsula, native Italian art grew ruder and ruder.[1] The church of Torcello (c. 641) belongs to this epoch, though it has frequently been renewed and restored. Of the original structure nothing remains but the apse, and two

[1] Cattaneo, *L'Arch. in Italia dal Sec. VI al Mille circa*, p. 18. Venezia, Ongania, 1888–1889.

semicircular niches in brick are all that exists of the baptistry belonging to the same date.

In the eighth century, when the fury of iconoclasm was raging in Constantinople, many Greek artists in revolt against Leo the Isaurian[1] sought Italy once more, and by preference Venice. Under the renewed instruction of Greek masters, who applied to Venetian buildings a profusion of delicate ornamentation, Italian art recovered, and the following century gave birth to the Italo-Byzantine style whose decoration copied Byzantine models with a rude and still uncertain touch. On this Italo-Byzantine style was grafted the art of the Como masters, who, starting from Como and its district, Mendrisio, Lugano, Bellinzona and Magadino, spread over Europe and carried with them everywhere the imprint of their method. Venice also possessed monuments of Lombard art. We have tradition of celebrated masters,[2] even in the earliest days; and it was they, no doubt, who built the baptistry at Concordia (ninth century), the abbey church of Saints Ilario and Benedetto (c. 820), the new façade to the duomo of Torcello (884), and the neighbouring church of Santa Fosca (about the close of the ninth century), of which work nothing remains but the small lateral apses. But these first early attempts at a national art left no notable result; they died away before the renewed influence of Byzantine art, which, especially in the tenth century, reached great splendour in Constantinople, where the Macedonian dynasty (867–1057) re-evoked the glorious days of Justinian. Already as

[1] Pauli Diaconi, *Historia Langobardorum*, VI, 49, in the Mon. Germ. *Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*. Hist. Script. VI–IX, p. 181. According to Paul the Deacon, the Venetians had resolved to elect an emperor, but were dissuaded by the Pope.

[2] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, V, 1101–1103.

early as 820 the Emperor Leo V had sent Greek architects to the lagoons to build the monastery of San Zaccaria; and it is probable that nine years later the Doge Giovanni Partecipazio employed these same artificers on the church of San Marco. We still find much sculpture of the ninth century, clearly the work of Greek chisels, in the church of San Marco, which was restored by Greek workmen after the fire of 976; and the numerous fragments of bas-reliefs in the Greek manner which are built into the walls of houses or preserved in museums and antiquity shops, prove that Byzantine masters were employed upon the religious and civil buildings in the new city. We may observe the traces of Byzantine work, perhaps of the ninth century, in the façade of a house looking on the Rivo delle Beccarie, near the Calle Sansoni; in the house on the Grand Canal at San Cassian, in which the painter Favretto died; in the Palazzo Da Mosto at the SS. Apostoli; in a house next door to the Prefecture; in the side door of the church of the Carmine and in a house on the Riva del Carbon close to the Palazzo Dandolo.[1]

About the year 1063 the Doge Contarini determined to rebuild San Marco,[2] and there is no doubt that Byzantine artists had a large share in the work, especially if we consider the plan and the arches, which are pure Byzantine. But it is equally certain that Lombard workmen were employed along with the Orientals, and thus San Marco became as it were a workshop in which the two styles, Byzantine and Lombard, met and

[1] Cattaneo, op cit., p. 254.

[2] Giustinian Bernardo says, "Accitis igitur ex Constantinopoli primariis architectis" (see *Documenti della Basilica di San Marco*, p. 231. Venezia, 1886).

STIERE DI
NAREGIO
BBOCCHIA
S. ANCIANO

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were fused together, giving birth to a new style, peculiar to the district, which we may fairly call Veneto-Byzantine.[1] Belonging to this style, which marks an artistic revival, are the churches which had porticoes[2] on their façades; they were built between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and are now either destroyed or altered. Such were San Zaccaria, rebuilt about 1176 on the site of Partecipazio's older church, San Giacomo di Rialto, Sant' Agnese, San Vitale, San Silvestro, and San Giovanni Decollato (1107), which has suffered the least from restorations. In the estuary we have the duomo of Caorle, with its singular circular campanile (1038), the only example in the Veneto, and the great church at Jesolo (eleventh century) in the form of a Latin cross with nave and two aisles, each ending in an apse, and three rows of superimposed windows.

Gradually Italian and Venetian[3] artificers came to supersede Byzantine workmen, even outside of Italy. In France a Venetian colony settled at Limoges between 977 and 989. In the eleventh century two Venetian nobles founded a monastery at San Leonardo, not far from Limoges; and in the twelfth century[4] we get the church of Saint-Front at Perigueux, whose chief feature is the cupola,[5] and whose design may possibly have been inspired by Saint Mark's at Venice.

[1] Cattaneo, *Storia Architettonica della Basilica* (in *La Basilica di San Marco*, p. 189. Venezia, 1892).

[2] External porticoes were used as cemeteries and as the place for the sale of pious objects. They were mostly destroyed. An example remains in the portico of San Giacomo di Rialto, though largely renovated.

[3] The white marble door of Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Roma was executed in the eleventh century by a Giovanni from Venice: JOHANNES DE VENETIA ME FECIT.

[4] Built after the fire of 1120, which burned down the old church dating from 980.

[5] De Verneilh, *L'Arch. Byzantine*, cit., pp. 133, 136.

Venetian art, gradually abandoning Byzantine models, adopted new forms which show the influence of Romanesque, the style which after 1000 began to affect European architecture so strongly. Some critics deny the influence of Romanesque on Venetian art, though they recognise the presence of certain Romanesque characteristics; for example, the lion or other animal used to support the columns of the pronaos in sacred buildings. Of this use we have an instance in the calf and the two griffins with a human head in their claws, which serve as bases to the columns of one of the great windows on the south side of San Marco; and another example in the two lions of the campanile of San Polo, the one with a human head, the other with a serpent in his paws, — the remains of a door of some ancient Lombard church.[1] But far more important monuments than these go to prove that Byzantine art, having reached its apogee in Venice, gradually underwent a transformation and adopted new forms under the influence of Romanesque. It is quite certain that in the twelfth century the Ducal Palace, the dwelling of the Procurators, built by the Doge Ziani (1173–1179), and the Palace of the Memmo family at San Marcuola, visited as a wonder by the Emperor Frederic II in 1232, must all have been Romanesque buildings with some admixture of Byzantine elements. Of this style we still have examples in the Fondaco dei Turchi at San Giovanni Decollato, in the Palazzo Dandolo (now Farsetti), the Palazzo Loredan at San Luca and the Palazzo Businello at Sant' Apollinare. This new Byzantine-Romanesque style shows also some touch of Saracenic introduced through Byzantium, but

[1] Selvatico, *Sulla Arch. e sulla Scult. in Venezia*, p. 82. Venezia, 1847.

it soon developed characteristics of its own, such as the horseshoe arch; after the year 1000 it flourished in Southern France and in Sicily. As a fact, Saracenic influence is to be noted in various Venetian buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; for example, in the remains of the houses in the Campo dei Mori, in Marco Polo's house at San Giovanni Grisostomo, in the Falier house at the SS. Apostoli, where they say the Doge Marino was born in 1278, and in the arch over the door of the treasury of San Marco. Other traces of this blend of Byzantine, Romanesque and Saracenic we find in the entrance gate to the Corte Morosini at San Giovanni Grisostomo, in a door in the Rio Sant' Antonio, in the arch over the water door of a house at San Tomà, in a ruined palace on the Rio San Pantaleone, in a door on the Campo San Luca, in the arch of the Palazzo Contarini at Santa Giustina, in the upper-floor windows of Palazzo Quirini at Rialto.

The dwelling-houses of this period usually ended in two little towers at each angle, and on the ground floor there was almost always a portico carried on columns and open in front, also a covered vestibule or atrium. The main stair, as a rule, was at the back of the atrium to the right; sometimes, however, in the middle of the wall that divided the atrium from the peristyle.[1] The façade was of brick ornamented by carved and moulded string courses of stone or by painted friezes. In Gentile Bellini's picture of the procession in the piazza of San Marco, painted in 1490, we see close to the campanile the hospital of San Marco, erected in the latter half of the thirteenth century. It has semicircular arches with a high stilt, and under the windows

[1] De Beylié, *L'habitation Byzantine*, p. 196. Grénoble-Paris, 1902.

of the first floor runs a frieze of symbolical animals on a red ground. Among the many anonymous creators of such beautiful buildings, one name alone has come down to us, that of Niccolò Barattieri, a Lombard certainly, perhaps a Como master-builder. It was he who designed the first Rialto bridge of wood in the twelfth century, completed the massive tower of San Marco (c. 1175) and raised on the piazzetta the two columns which had been brought from the East.

At the close of the twelfth and the opening of the thirteenth century a great change came over architecture, which, especially in ecclesiastical buildings, began to adopt the ogivale or Gothic style, solid yet graceful, dignified yet light. The pointed arch, employed by the Saracens as early as the ninth century and very common in Sicilian architecture of the eleventh, where we find blended the characteristics of Byzantine, Saracen and Norman styles, is to be met with even in Venice long before the thirteenth century. In San Marco we have specimens of the pointed arch, and the bases of certain columns anticipate the designs met with in French-Romanesque when in process of developing the pointed arch; others again seem twin with Gothic churches of the North, while certain architectural motives seem to forecast details characteristic of the North.[1] But at this period the pointed arch in Italian buildings is chiefly employed as a decoration, not as a fully developed structural principle; it is in the West that it received its complete organisation as an element in construction. In France, in 1100, we already find groined ceilings in three churches, Sainte-Croix at Quimperlé, Saint-Victor at Marseilles, and the abbey church at Morisac, and also in the cloister at Morienval,

[1] Cattaneo, *St. Arch.*, cit., p. 186.

Church (1250-1338) and Tower (1361-1396) of Sa. Maria dei Frari

where the capitals are still Romanesque. After these comes the groined crypt of Saint-Gilles (1116) and many other churches in which, between 1135 and 1150, the new style is developed; the Cistercian monks were its most active propagators, and it was welcomed in Germany, in England and in Scandinavia, where the arch was at once thrown high up towards the heavens with crockets and pinnacles. The Cistercians of Burgundy introduced the style into Italy, and in the Sabine country they built abbeys and churches with pointed arches recalling the type already established in France.

The oldest specimen of this Italo-Cistercian work is the abbey of Fossanuova (1180–1208) between Piperno and Terracina.[1] But Gothic style in Italy was transformed and modified by the temper of the nation, and even in buildings where the pointed arch was employed we find the Romanesque straight line prevailing, and the characteristics of the old style blended with ogees, crockets, pinnacles, groining, spiral columns, as in the Tuscan Gothic of Santa Maria del Fiore and of Giotto's Tower. In Venice Gothic found a happier clime, and took a character all its own from the nature of the place in which Oriental ideas were still alive. Its flourishing period begins in the thirteenth and closes in the middle of the fourteenth century. The two finest specimens of ecclesiastical Gothic are the Franciscan church of Santa Maria Gloriosa, commonly called the Frari, begun in 1250 and finished in 1338,[2] and

[1] Then follow the churches of Casamari (1203–1217), Arabona (1208) and San Galgano (1218–1306). Enlart, *Origines françaises de l'architecture gothique en Italie*. Paris, 1894 (fasc. 66 of the *Bibl. des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*).

[2] The campanile of the Frari was begun in 1361 and carried to the ground level by Maestro Giacomo Celega; his son Pier Paolo completed it in 1396. In the fifteenth century the church of the Frari was partially

the Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, an improved copy of the former, still unfinished in 1385. Other ecclesiastical buildings in this style, in great part restored, remodelled, or disfigured, are San Giacomo dall' Orio (1225), the Servi (1318), Santo Stefano (1325), San Gregorio (1342), Carmine (1348), Madonna dell' Orto (1350), Scuolà della Carità (1377), Sant' Elena (1418). At the beginning of the fourteenth century the ogival style appears in the basilica of San Marco in some of the windows of the façade and in the rose-window of the south transept, and more markedly still in certain decorations and architectural motives in the baptistry and in the chapel of Sant' Isidoro, the one completed and the other begun by Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354) and finished by Giovanni Gradenigo (1355).[1] Artists, perhaps Tuscans, were invited to assist in the decoration of San Marco;[2] among them may have been that Pietro who was intrusted with the marble incrustations of the basilica and who must certainly have seen San Miniato and Santa Maria del Fiore and may even have worked there. In 1365 the builders began to superimpose upon the Byzantine arch the inflexed pointed arch, and after half a century the façade appears with all its happy vesture of sculpture, carving, statues, foliation, ribbons, arabesques, every conceivable sort of decoration piled upon the arches, heaped upon the cornices, running along the edges, twining about the niches.

So too the lagoon façade of the Ducal Palace (1340) clearly shows in every detail, idea, line, mass,

renewed, like so many ancient churches. In Carpaccio's picture of Saint Gerome and the lion in S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni we see the original Gothic church with its portico.

[1] Cattaneo, *St. Arch.*, cit., p. 203.

[2] Ibid. ibid., pp. 202-205.

S. Marco

composition, decoration, the Gothic style of the Trecento, with essentially Venetian characteristics; for the Palazzo Ducale is, above all things, an artistic creation in harmony with its place and date. It is vain to inquire the name of its architect. It is the work of a nation, not of an individual, and its true creator was that powerful aristocracy which built the palace as its monument and its fortress. The artists went to the tomb unrecorded; one succeeded another in the inheritance of plans, models, implements; they sought their satisfaction in the play of their intellect rather than in the flattery of fame; they cared nothing that their own names should be lost in the great collective glory which centred in the sublime edifice. The architect — *murer*, *taiapiera*, *marangon*, whoever he was — and his band of decorators who so skilfully carried out his ideas, are one and all lost in obscurity, while lying legends seek to render illustrious the name of a traitor.[1] We possess very few documents of that date, but they are quite sufficient to destroy the tale which tries to make Calendario the author of so marvellous a piece of work, and to bring to light, among the many who are forgotten, the *protoiaiapiera*, or master-mason, Pietro Basseggio, who died in 1354, and master Enrico, *proto* or clerk of the works for the State.[2] But if the documents and registers

[1] Tradition, accepted by chroniclers and historians, asserts that the author of the Gothic façade and of much of the sculpture of the Ducal Palace was Filippo Calendario, who played a prominent part in the conspiracy of Marino Falier and was hanged with a gag in his mouth from the loggia of the palace he himself had restored. Calendario was a stonemason and owner of *marani* or barges for the transport of stones, and it is not unlikely that he worked at the palace and carried material there; but we must reject the assertion that he was the architect of the building, for not a single document names him as master-mason. Lazzarini, *Filippo Calendario* (*Nuovo Arch. Ven.*, T. VII, p. 429).

[2] Paoletti, *L'Arch. e la Scult. del Rin. in Ven.*, P. I, p. 10.

have almost all been burned or consumed by time, a close examination and comparison of the magnificent sculptural decorations reveals the fact that the façade is a monument of collective art, with the imprint of Venice strong upon it and with traces of a foreign chisel, possibly French. The façade towards the piazzetta, finished according to the *Cronaca Zancarola* in 1442, shows a scheme and architectural lines corresponding absolutely with the earlier façade towards the mole; not so the decorative details, which, although belonging to the same style, still prove to what a high pitch the sense of form had been developed.

Some historians of art claim that the direction and also the execution of all these works were in the hands of Giovanni Buono, of his son Bartolomeo, and of Pantaleone, said to be brother to Bartolomeo, whereas he was not even a relation. We know from documents of 1438 and 1442[1] that Giovanni and Bartolomeo Buono, Venetians, were the authors of the Porta della Carta (1439–1443). Another document of 1463 leads us to believe that Bartolomeo and Pantaleone Buono completed other work in the interior of the palace,[2] but that is not enough to justify us in declaring that they were the architects of the whole building, with its broad and heavy façades each pierced by six great windows, resting, by a happy architectural anomaly, on the airy loggia of pointed arches, which again rests on a portico with a colonnade. Decorative and symbolical art has lavished its treasures on the capitals; there we find represented myth, history, the arts, the sciences, virtues, vices, the zodiac, plants, flowers, fruit, armour.

[1] Gualandi, *Mem. orig. ital. riguard. le B. A.*, Serie VI, p. 105, doc. n. 189. Bologna, 1840–1845.

[2] Paoletti, op. cit., P. I.

Ducal Palace. Great Window Facing the Harbour

PAGINI LIPSA

This bright and happy-looking building, all statues, trophies, arabesques, hardly seems to be the seat of a government surrounded by mystery, especially if we compare it with the menacing piles to be found in other Italian cities, the Palazzo della Signoria, for example, constructed, as Machiavelli said, to lodge tyrants the more safely, or the fortalice of the Estensi in Ferrara with its drawbridges and posterns, which seem even now to threaten and intimidate.[1]

At Venice, even in private houses, that wealth of decoration, that sense of the picturesque, so deeply rooted in the Venetian temperament, made itself felt. Ogival architecture with its wayward ornamentation held its own for long in Venice, and it was only after the middle of the fifteenth century that it gave way to the more sober harmonies of the classic style. The Tuscan Michelozzo Michelozzi, one of the architects by whose precept and example Greek and Roman architecture returned once more to the place of honour, accompanied Cosimo de' Medici to Venice during his exile in 1433. Vasari tells us that in Venice he made numerous plans and models for houses. But Michelozzo's grave designs were overridden by the Gothic play of fancy which is to be seen in all its glory in the Palazzo Ariani at San Raffaele, the Palazzo degli Ambasciatore at San Barnaba, Palazzo Contarini at Santa Giustina, Palazzo Bernardo on the Grand Canal near the Madonnetta, Palazzo Bernardo at Sant' Agostino, Palazzo Corner at Santa Margherita, Gritti-Badoer at San Giovanni in Bragora, Cavalli at San Vitale, Pisani at San Polo, Bragadin-Carabba at Santa Marina, Foscari at San Barnaba, Donà (now Giovanelli) at Santa Fosca, Dandolo on the Riva degli Schiavoni,

[1] Symonds, *Il Rinasc. in Italia*, trans. p. 54. Firenze, 1879.

and in the graceful angle window of Palazzo Priuli at San Severo. On the façades of palaces the most sumptuous results are obtained by arches carved in borders or in high relief, by columns arranged in couples or in groups, by the graceful balustrades of the balconies, the deep-cut cornices, the quatrefoil piercings in the upper part of the windows. The body of the façade, when it was not veneered in precious Oriental marbles or covered with frescoes, was painted red, and round the Gothic windows and beneath the cornices and string-courses, across the free spaces of the walls, ran ribbons adorned with foliation, panels and borders painted in geometrical patterns, or delicate gilded ornamentation.[1] Such architectural fancies smile on us even more gracefully from the façade of the little Contarini-Fasan Palace or from the Ca' d'oro on the Grand Canal. The first is a veritable piece of lace-work in stone; the balconies are designed with marvellous elegance. The second is one of the most beautiful buildings of Venice and commands instant admiration. Marino Contarini, the patrician artist who conceived the building and brought it to birth, took the trouble to keep a minute account of the cost in a notebook, which is now a document[2] of the highest value, aiding us not merely in the

[1] The Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice has two pictures: one, by Vettor Carpaccio, painted in 1494, represents the Patriarch of Grado casting out a devil; the other, by Gentile Bellini, painted in 1500, represents the miracle of the Cross. In Carpaccio's picture we see the Grand Canal and the Rialto Bridge, in Bellini's the fondamenta and bridge of San Lorenzo. Both show us Gothic palaces with red façades and gilded cornices to the windows, rich in graceful ornament. Façades adorned with graffito work, such as one finds at Genoa, are rare in Venice. An example may be seen in a house near the Servi at Padua, and in others at Treviso.

[2] The notebook is preserved in the Archivio di Stato. See Cecchetti, *La facciata della Ca' d'oro* (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXI, p. 202).

The Contarini-Fasan Palace (XV century)

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history of the building in all its details, but serving also to illustrate the private life and activity of the men who gave to Venice such noble examples of art. Contarini, who was thoroughly versed in design, began his work in 1421, and had the assistance and advice of Marco d'Amadeo, a master-builder, and of Matteo Reverti, a Milanese sculptor, who were joined later on by Giovanni Buono and his son Bartolomeo. Other artists, Antonio Busetto, Antonio Foscolo, Gasparino Rosso, called *da Milano*, Giacomo da Como, Marco da Segno, Giovanni degli Angeli, called *Romanello*, Martino Frisoni da Como, Giovanni Frisoni da Milano, and Andrea da Milano — artists of whom we know nothing — were called in to create the façade, the land door, and the outside staircase in the court-yard. This band of artists applied themselves to the work, and capitals, balconies, cornices, arches, battlements, cusps, armorial bearings, all the wealth of delicate ornamentation sprang to life from the marble. Not a detail was neglected. On April 9, 1427, Bartolomeo Buono, in his own and his father's name, acknowledged the receipt of twenty golden ducats which *xe per parte del pozal* (the well-head) *el qual mi Bortolamio i diè far per soldi* 20 *al dì*, and lower down we find a note to the effect that Buono took two hundred and three days to complete that magnificent well-head in red broccatello marble of Verona, which is adorned with four great heads issuing from acanthus leaves at each of the angles and with figures of the Virtues seated on lions in the intermediate spaces. The sculptured decoration of this façade was nearly completed by 1431, in which year Contarini made a bargain with Martino and Giovanni Benzon *per investir de malmoro tuto quelo che manca*. In a short time the work was finished and

veined to look like marble, and the Byzantine string-courses carved with vine tendrils he coloured white on a black ground.[1] By 1434 the many-coloured monument in all the richness of its magnificence was complete. From Contarini's notebook of expenses we gather how much care was bestowed on the little columns, the capitals, and other ornaments of the open staircase. These staircases, either quite open or protected by a roof, which run up from the court-yards, surrounded by battlemented walls, form one of the most picturesque features of Venetian architecture. Many have shared the fate of the Ca' d'oro staircase and been destroyed; but examples are still to be seen in the Corte della Terrazza and in the Palazzo Loredan at Giovanni e Paolo, in the Palazzo Bembo at the Celestia, Palazzo Contarini della Porta di ferro at Santa Giustina, Palazzo Zantani at San Tomà, Palazzo Sanudo (now Van Axel) at the Miracoli, Palazzo Cappello at San Giovanni Laterano, Palazzo Priuli at San Severo.

Hand in hand with architecture came sculpture, which, down to the close of the twelfth century, preserved the spirit and the form of Byzantine art. The churches still contain many capitals, balustrades, ambos, ciboria, thrones, basins, and sarcophagi in this style; and on the walls of many secular buildings we get pilasters, friezes, pateras, roundels, all of them the work of Byzantine sculptors or of Venetian artists taught by Byzantines. In the eleventh century Byzantine influence is visible in Venetian decorative work, of which we have characteristic examples in ornamental plaques with figures of animals, peacocks, lions, griffins, de-

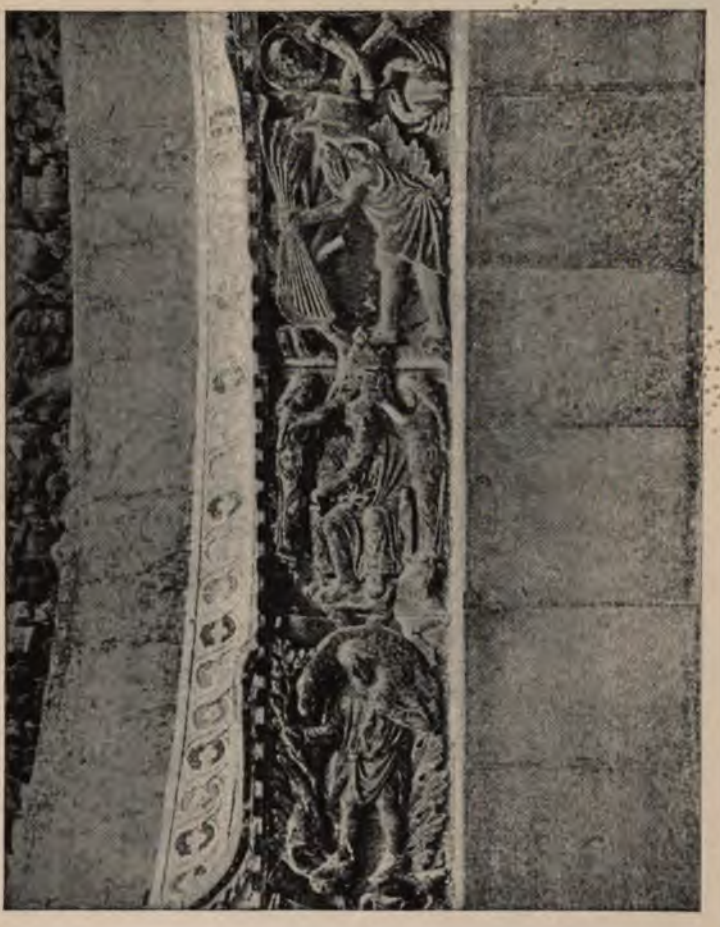
[1] Boni, *La Ca' d'oro e le sue decorazioni policrome* (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXIV, p. 115).

lightfully interwoven with vine tendrils, foliage, flowers, palms, pomegranates. But we must bear in mind that the plastic arts developed slowly in the lagoons. The tombs of the Doge Vitale Falier (d. 1096) and of the Dogaressa Felicia Michiel (d. 1101), both in the atrium of San Marco, at one time thought to be the work of Venetian sculptors, are really, especially the latter, composed of fragments of earlier sculpture carefully fitted together, and of graceful Byzantine balustrades of the tenth century between columns. Even in the eleventh century they used Byzantine bas-reliefs of the seventh century, found, perhaps, at Altino or Aquileia, to make the sarcophagi of two Doges, Giacomo Tiepolo (d. 1249), which stands under a canopy on the façade of San Giovanni e Paolo, and Marino Morosini (d. 1252) in the vestibule of San Marco; and it is quite certain that the four magnificent Byzantine columns of the ciborium of San Marco (sixth century), covered with Gospel story, are not, as some assert, the work of Venetian chisels.[1]

Meantime France was producing work of exquisite beauty at Paris, Tours, Romans, Nîmes, Arles, at Saint-Gilles, at Chartres, at Amiens, at Auxerre; while the southern provinces of Italy began to adorn their churches with flowers, animals, and symbolical figures in full or half relief, of such masterly execution as to justify the conjecture that the great genius of Nicola, commonly called Pisano, must have seen the light and received its early education in Apulia, where art came into vigorous existence sooner than in Tuscany.

In the twelfth century two sculptors of daring genius, Guglielmo and Niccolò, left notable productions

[1] Testi, L., *Osserv. crit. sulla St. dell' Arte del Venturi*, cit.



Part of the Arch of the Months
in the Church of S. Marco

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in the churches of Cremona, Piacenza, Ferrara, in the duomo and in San Zeno at Verona, where they founded a school which sent out many able artists. The Veronese chisel is said to be discernible in some of the reliefs of the Cappella Zeno in San Marco and in the bas-reliefs of the Birth of our Saviour in San Giovanni Elemosinario.[1] Between 1178 and 1196 Benedetto Antelami completed his admirable works at Parma, Borgo San Donnino, and perhaps at Cremona, and it is certain that the great example of this Como master was not without its effect in Venice. We trace the inspiration of Antelami, or rather of his followers, in the fragment of a bas-relief representing the Adoration of the Magi, which was once in the church of SS. Filippo e Giacomo and is now in the Seminary at the Salute, also in the group known as the *Sogno di San Marco*, in the depositary of San Marco, and in some figures of prophets in the Cappella Zeno.[2] The triumph of Antelami's, or rather of Italo-Romanesque, art, however, is to be found in the arches of the great door of the Basilica, where a fine but anonymous master has represented the various trades pursued by men, and the months of the year.

But throughout this revival of art Byzantine sculpture held its own in Venice with tenacity, and though it adopted certain characteristic notes of the Western style, it continued during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to put out work of purely Oriental quality, such as the Christ on the Cross, once in the convent of the Santo Spirito and now in the Museo Civico; the Madonna who bears on her breast the head of the Child, at Santa Maria Materdomini; two other reliefs also representing the Madonna, one on the outside of

[1] Venturi, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 248. [2] Ibid., ibid., p. 347.

the south wall of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the other, with two half figures of angels, on the outer wall of the Frari; a Madonna enthroned with angels and saints in the apse of San Polo; another on the back wall of Santa Maria Maddalena; yet another in Santa Caterina at Mazzorbo; the two angels of the holy-water basin in the chapel of Sant' Isidoro at San Marco; the four angels near the pinnacles of the central cupola of San Marco.[1] The emancipation from Byzantine tradition was completed in the Trecento, during which Venetian sculpture, with Gothic models especially before its eyes, acquired a freer style, as in the effective statue of the Blessed Simon in the church of San Simeone Grande, executed by Marco Romano in 1317. The two groups at the angles of the Ducal Palace, Adam and Eve and The Shame of Noah, are also full of vigorous expression. In the fine head of Noah especially there is a close resemblance to the statue of the blessed Simon.[2] But these early germs of a strong and simple art did not develop rapidly, and we catch only the faintest note of a genuine artistic sentiment in the rude forms of other statues executed later than those we have been discussing. Take, for example, the two figures of the Virgin, one by Arduino *Taiapiera* (1340) in the cloister of Santa Maria del Carmine, and the other by an unknown artist over the door of the Scuola della Carità (1345); the bas-relief in the court of San Giovanni Evangelista (1349); the three bas-reliefs in the museum of the seminary, one a Saint Antonio (1355), another San Giovanni Battista (1361), the third a Madonna (1363); San Martino on horseback with the mendicant and the

[1] Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig*, pp. 148 and 154. Leipzig, 1903.

[2] Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, Vol. I.

Doge (1370) at San Giovanni Evangelista; Saints Theodore and George on horseback (close of the fourteenth century) in the baptistry of San Marco; the two figures of San Secondo (1377) and San Cristoforo (1384) on the door of the Scuola della Carità; and so on. Although no one would believe that these works were contemporary with the magnificent tombs at Dijon, so full of grace and nobility, which the Flemish masters Claude Sluter (d. 1405) and Claude Werve his nephew executed at the close of the Trecento, still they have an importance of their own as being the first efforts of that free and liberal style which preceded the Renaissance.

The passage to Gothic style is more clearly indicated in the numerous sepulchral monuments which in Venice, as elsewhere, assume two forms, the slab and the sarcophagus.[1] Of the former, belonging to this period, not many have come down to us. The sarcophagus in its primitive form is without figures, and has merely the family coat-of-arms placed between two crosses, as, for example, on the tombs outside SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The sarcophagus with figures has usually five compartments, the central containing one or more figures, the two on each side empty, each end again having figures. Of these monuments the sarcophagus of the Doge Soranzo (d. 1327) in the baptistry of San Marco is the oldest example; others are to be seen at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, at the Frari, at Santo Stefano, at Santa Caterina, the Carmine, and San Giorgio Maggiore. These are all fourteenth-century work, chiefly by Venetian masters, among whom we may mention Jacopo Lanfrani, reputed author of the

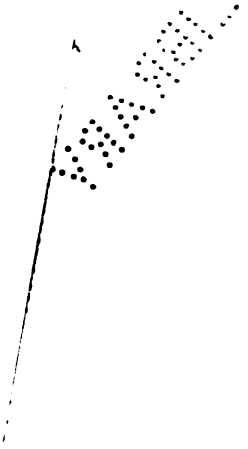
[1] Gabelentz, op. cit., pp. 242–262. See also Meyer, A. G., *Das venezianische Grabdenkmal der Frührenaissance*. Berlin, 1889.

sepulchral monument to Taddeo Tiepolo (d. 1347) in San Domencio, Bologna, and another monument to Giovanni d' Andrea Calderini (d. 1348), now in the Museum at Bologna.

At the close of the Trecento Venetian sculpture, now freed from all Byzantine tradition, did not remain content with a servile imitation of Gothic art, but spread its wings for a still wider flight and drew ideas of beauty, dignity, newly inspired by the great art of Tuscany. In fact the Tuscans were the source of ideas for two of the most distinguished artificers of the middle ages, the brothers Jacobello and Pietro Paolo Dalle Masegne. They took their surname from the paving-stone (*Masegne*) in which their family dealt, and with a charming modesty described themselves as *tajapiera*, stone-cutters. These two Venetian brothers probably made the marble tomb, adorned with delicate bas-reliefs, for Giovanni da Legnano, reader in canon law, which once stood in the cloister of San Domenico at Bologna, but is now in the Museum. The splendid marble *ancona* of the high altar in the church of San Francesco at Bologna, completed about 1396,[1] is certainly the work of the Dalle Masegne. In 1399 the two sculptors were at Milan, employed in the duomo and afterwards in the castle at Pavia, by the Duke Gian Galeazzo.[2] In their own city the Dalle Masegne have left us the statues of the Virgin, the evangelist, and the twelve apostles (1394), which stand upon the architrave between the choir and the nave (*iconastasis*) in San Marco; also the Virgin and four saints (1397),

[1] Davia, *Mem. stor. art. int. alla tav. fig. sul maggiore alt. della ch. di S. Francesco*, etc. Bologna, 1848.

[2] Nava, *Mem. del Duomo di Milano*, Vol. I, pp. 81–82. Giulini, *Mem. di Milano*, vol. XI, pp. 456, 598.



on the architrave of the chapel of San Clemente, — works which, by their modelling, vigorous even though a little heavy, and for their vivid presentment of life, demonstrate the excellence of the artists and show that Venetian sculpture, unlike Venetian painting, was on the road towards perfection from the very outset. The monument to the Doge Antonio Venier[1] (d. 1400) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo is attributed to the brothers Dalle Masegne; while the great window in the Ducal Palace facing the lagoon is certainly the work of Pietro Paolo. Jacobello had two sons, Antonio, who up to 1411 was working in the duomo of Sebenico in Dalmatia, and Paolo, the author of two fine sepulchral monuments, one to the Commander Jacopo Cavalli (d. 1386) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, the other to Prendiparte Pico (d. 1394) in San Francesco at Mirandola. On both monuments the artist placed the following inscription, curious in its naïveté:

> Qst opera Dintalgio efato in piera
> Un Venecian lafe chanome Polo
> Nato di Jacomel chataiapiera [2]

These Dalle Masegne in Venice in the fourteenth century give us the earliest instance of those families who, like the Buono and the Lombardo in later times, carried their art to a high perfection.

Among other monuments which came from the workshop of the Dalle Masegne, or were completed later by their pupils, we must reckon the tombs of the Doge Marco Corner and of the Dogaressa Agnese Venier and her daughter Orsola, in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, some statues on the façade of the Madonna

[1] Selvatico, *Arch. e Scult. in Venezia*, p. 122.
[2] = *Che è taiapiera.*

Dell' Orto, and the Madonna over the main door of the Frari, a graceful figure in which Cicognara wrongly thought he recognised the chisel of Nicola Pisano.

The masters of the Buono family, whom we have seen working on the Ducal Palace, mark the transition from mediæval to Renaissance art. And in fact the slender grace of the Renaissance makes itself felt not only in the Porta Dorata or Porta della Carta, which resembles a piece of marble lace-work and had an azure ground and gilded ornamentation, but also in other masterpieces of the Buono family, among which suffice it to mention the lunette on the door of the Scuola di San Marco and the bas-relief that used to be above the door of the Scuola della Misericordia. The Buono family, erroneously believed to have been the architects of the restorations in the Ducal Palace, are also credited with the better part of the sculpture on the palace. A certain resemblance in manner might lead us to ascribe to Bartolomeo Buono the statue of the archangel Gabriel at the angle of the façade next to the Porta della Carta,[1] but we must absolutely exclude the theory that these Venetian masters produced the sculpture which adorns the new part of the palace. As we have already observed, the works on the palace were a sort of school to which flocked artists from all parts of Europe. For example, we find mention of a Master Andrea *taiapiera de Milan*, who in 1426 was intrusted with the carvings on the capitals, and a Francesco da Padova[2] employed on the same work in 1430. At the opening of the fifteenth century, before Donatello came to Padua, many Tuscan sculptors were employed in Venice. The Judgment of Solomon at the northwest angle of the façade is the work of a notable

[1] Paoletti, op. cit., p. 1.

[2] Ibid., ibid.

Tuscan sculptor, and the capital below it is signed by two *sotii fiorentini*, probably Pietro di Niccolò da Firenze and Giovanni di Martino da Fiesole, who in 1423 carved the tomb of the Doge Tomaso Mocenigo in SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[1]

Tuscan, too, are the sculptures of the great windows on the principal façade of San Marco, as well as numerous statues and decorations on the cusps and arches of the Basilica; all of it probably work intrusted, about 1415, to the distinguished artist of Arezzo, Niccolò di Piero Lamberti, called Pela.[2] In the church of the Frari the equestrian statue of the general Paolo Savelli (d. 1405), carved in wood, reveals a Tuscan origin; so, too, the terra-cotta adornments, gilded and coloured, which enrich the monument of the blessed Pacifico, completed in 1437, are probably to be ascribed to the Florentine Giovanni di Bartolomeo detto il Rosso (d. 1451), the author of the Brenzoni monument in San Fermo at Verona. On the other hand, Venetian artists worked outside the lagoon. In 1413 Filippo, stone-cutter of Venice, carved the monument to Paola Bianca Malatesta (d. 1398) in the church of San Francesco at Fano, a work in Gothic style, rather late, but broad and original in treatment.[3]

Venetian sculpture drew new life and a new direction from the work and the teaching of Donatello, who in 1444 came to Padua and there left the admirable equestrian statue of Erasmo da Narni, called Gattamelata, and the high altar of the Basilica di Sant' Antonio. The great Florentine visited Venice several

[1] Zanotto, *Il Palazzo ducale*, T. I.

[2] Paoletti, op. loc. cit.

[3] Zonghi, A., *Repertorio dell' antico arch. com. di Fano* (*Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, anno 1888, p. 330).

times from Padua, and must have had friendly relations with the artists of that city; he presented the chapel of the Florentines, at the Frari, with the wooden statue of Saint John the Baptist.

Painting developed in Venice far more slowly than either architecture or sculpture. The *Cronaca Altinate* records *pintores qui Damarzi appellati sunt, picturam facere sciebant* and mentions a *Marturius magister picturae;* but we know that *pictura* covered mosaics, of which we have the earliest specimens in the churches of Grado, Torcello, and San Marco. The mosaics of the duomo at Torcello, which represent the Inferno, Paradiso, and the Last Judgment[1] with a breadth of composition and a power of idealisation that are truly marvellous, are believed by some to belong to the seventh century,[2] more probably they date from the eleventh.[3] The church of San Marco also was adorned with mosaics, *multis ac variis coloribus*,[4] from the earliest times; but the most ancient of the mosaics, still preserved, though for the most part restored, do not date from beyond the eleventh century.

If the Byzantine style marks a period of true greatness in the history of art, we must not forget that, like Egyptian work, it was rigidly bound up with public institutions, religious ceremonies, festivals, buildings. Certain cycles of Bible story, common to all Christian

[1] Gayet, *L'art Byzantine*. Dessins de Charles Erard. Paris, 1901.

[2] Sig. Rupolo, architect of the restorations on the duomo at Torcello, is in error in believing that the mosaics of the inner wall belong to the close of the seventh century. See IV, *Relaz. dell' Uff. Regionale*, p. 138. Venezia, 1899.

[3] Bouillet, *Le jugement dernier* (*Notes d'art et d'arch.*, 1894-1895). Detzel, *Christliche Iconographie*, S. I, cap. VI, 1894. Kraus, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, T. II, p. 393.

[4] *Translatio corporis Sancti Marci evangeliste*, quoted by Monticolo, *Intorno alla cronaca del diacono Giovanni*, p. 196. Roma, 1889.

art, were reproduced century after century, and the scenes, taken from Genesis, in the atrium of San Marco, the work of the twelfth century, find their exact counterpart in the miniatures of the fifth century which adorn the Cottonian Bible at London, a precious monument of Byzantine art.[1] Accordingly Byzantine painting, whether on panel or on canvas, remained within the strictest limits of ritual and symbolism, obeying conventional rules laid down with all the precision of dogma.[2] Perhaps we may reckon among the number of artists of this kind the Greek Theophanes, who about the beginning of the thirteenth century, is said to have opened in Venice a school of painting from which came the Gelasi of Ferrara.[3] Venetian painters, obeying the influence of their Greek masters, repeated the figure of the Madonna, under the permanent forms prescribed by Byzantine orthodoxy; for example, about the beginning of the thirteenth century we have that picture of the Madonna with an aureole of precious stones and a background of gold leaf, ascribed by tradition to Saint Luke, which stands now on the altar next to the chapel of Sant' Isidoro in San Marco.[4] Patriotic sentiment has induced many writers to assert that painting flourished in Venice earlier than in other Italian cities, because in 1290 we

[1] Tikkanen, *La rappr. della Genesi in S. Marco*, etc. (*Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, Vol. I, pp. 212, 257, 348. Roma, 1888).

[2] Byzantine painters had fixed rules laid down in a code which prescribed the subjects they might handle and the manner of treating them. Panselinus, a noble of Mount Athos, is the author of the earliest of these handbooks. He lived in the eleventh century. Didron, *Man. d'ic. chr. grec. lat.* Paris, 1845.

[3] We know nothing more than the name of these Gelasi. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*St. della Pitt. in Italia*, Vol. IV, pp. 88, 89).

[4] Veludo, *Imagine della Madonna di San Marco*. Venezia, 1887.

find established in the lagoons a "painters'" guild.[1] But the members of this guild, which was numerous, according to Zanetti, certainly did not treat their art in any new spirit, and were either workers in mosaic or rude decorators, not to be distinguished from gilders, cofferers, mask-makers, house-painters. At the Archivio di Stato and in the Register of the Giustizieri Vecchi we have the by-laws of the Venetian painters, compiled in December, 1271, and brought down, with the regulations of each succeeding year, to March 18, 1311.[2] But there is not a word as to the methods of the Venetian artificers; technical rules refer chiefly to the way in which these artists are to decorate coffers, saddles, bucklers, shields, morions, with stamped leather. The painters' guild, unlike other guilds, had two Gastaldi, or wardens, — one of the religious confraternity, the other of the craft, — with different dignities and functions.[3] The rules of the guild did not differ essentially from those of other confraternities. Saturday was a day of rest, and the signal to cease work was given for painters as for carpenters, by the bell called the *marangona*, in the campanile of San Marco. "Nullus de arte predicta [that is, painters] non audeat nec presumat laborare nec facere laborari in die sabbati postquam pulsaverit tintinabulum que pulsat pro marangonis ad sanctum Marcum sub pena soldos X." The same fine was applied to those who used insulting language to the officers of the guild, — *aliqua rusticitatem gastaldioni aut suis officialibus*. Apprentices (*pueri ad adiscendum artem*) were paid either in money (*ad pre-*

[1] Zanetti, A. M., *Delle pittura Veneziana e della opere pubbl. dei Ven. maestri*, L. I. Venezia, 1771.

[2] The *Capitolare* was published, with notes, by Monticolo in the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, T. II, p. 321.

[3] Monticolo, loc. cit., n. 1, p. 351.

cium) or in food (*ad panem et vinum*). In order to control the work executed and to render inspection easy, coffers might be offered for sale only in the shop of the man who had painted them (*in propria statione*); all painted goods put upon the market (*scuti, rodelle, cophani de nuvicias, arcele, platene, mensori, tabule ad comedendum, ancone*) must be varnished to preserve the colours.[1]

It is in these *ancone*, sacred images painted on wood, that we find the origin of Venetian painting. Only a name here and there remains to us of all these early wielders of the brush, — Master Giovanni Filippo, son of Master Giovanni Scutario,[2] a Vendramin, whose widow made a will in 1299. The names died out, and all that remained was some picture displaying an almost infantile lack of skill; for example, the crucifix, on panel, belonging to the altar of the Capitello at San Marco, or the wooden tomb of the blessed Giuliana of Collalto (d. 1264) in the convent of Sant' Agnese. Both are ugly, and yet the crucifix was executed about 1290[3] and the tomb in 1297,[4] when the sun of Giotto had already

[1] Monticolo, op. cit., passim.

[2] Zanetti, A. M., op. loc. cit.

[3] We get the date of this crucifix from the story that it was profaned in 1290 by some miscreant. Caffi, *Pittori in Venezia nel sec. XIV* (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXV, p. 57). This is not the sole instance of insults to sacred images. In 1369 Giovanni Marino, goldsmith, slashed and scraped with a sword pictures in several churches. Cecchetti, *Nomi di pittori e lapicidi antichi* (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXIII, p. 50). Sacred pictures ordered by private individuals were frequently bequeathed to churches. We also have notices of the cost of such pictures. Giacomo Gualengo, of Chioggia, in 1377 paid one hundred and twenty ducats of gold for a picture destined for the church of San Giovanni Battista in Chioggia; Giovanni Sanudo Torsello, sixty ducats of gold for a painting for San Zaccaria. Cecchetti, op. cit., p. 49.

[4] Cicognara and Lanzi say the tomb was painted in 1264, the year of Giuliana's death, but Zanotto is nearer the truth in ascribing it to the

risen. Two other poor paintings of this period are a Madonna in San Giovanni Evangelista, with the signature *Franciscus pinsis* (*sic*), and a Christ in the sepulchre by a Master *Angelus*, in the Museo Civico. Nor do the missals, psalteries, and codices yield any better result. The art of illumination, so helpful to the student of early painting, flourished much later in Venice; and that distinguished Venetian miniaturist, Giovanni Gaibano, Canon of Conselve, found few to imitate his magnificent *Epistolario di rito patriarchino*, completed in 1250, and enriched by sixteen illuminations on a gold ground with foliated and braided initials, which is preserved in the duomo of Padua. It is true that we are not without books of devotion, offices, psalters, choir-books, profuse in ornament and illumination; and two of genuine Venetian origin may be seen at the Museo Civico, — one is an office for the dead, in a style that reminds us of Carpaccio, and the other, more ancient, is a Choral Missal (fourteenth century), in which among other miniatures we have the portrait of the Doge Marino Zorzi, a friar, and a San Domenico. Some think that the splendid office of the Durazzo family, now in the Museo Civico-Beriana at Genoa,[1]

year 1297, the year in which the body of the *beata* was found. The tomb is preserved in the inner chapel of the monastery of the padri Cavanis at Sant' Agnese. It is a wooden cassone, which was presumably decorated on the exterior. Now there is nothing left but a tasteless daub of the Settecento. On the inside of the cover there is a painting which at first sight seems Byzantine, but a closer inspection shows that it has been painted over the outlines of earlier Byzantine figures. It represents Saint Biagio and Saint Cataldo on foot and the blessed Giuliana kneeling. The inscriptions over each figure have also been repainted.

[1] Belgrano, *Della vita privata dei Genovesi*, p. 119. Genova, 1875. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris possesses a book of prayers adorned with most delicate miniatures, believed to be Venetian. Foucard, *Della pitt. sui manoscritti di Ven.* ("Atti dell' I. R. Acc. di Venezia," 1857). Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Kunstler in England und Paris*, 1837–1839.

is from a Venetian brush. But in fact the dreamy and patient art of the illuminator, born in the shadow of the cloister, found no propitious soil among a busy, bustling people like the Venetians, and Venetian miniature is happiest not in works of devotion but in statute books of the State or of the guilds. The figures of the Doge and of the magistrates appear in the initial letters, which are illuminated in graceful and varied patterns of filets and pearls and flowers and butterflies and birds, in the *Promissione Ducale* of Francesco Dandolo (1328), in the *Capitolari dei Consiglieri Ducali* (middle of the fourteenth century), in the *Capitolare dei Procuratori di San Marco* (1367). Similarly the humble brethren of the craft guilds are represented in their *Mariegole*, as gathered under the mantle of the Virgin. We may quote, by way of remarkable examples, the *Mariegole* of the furriers, of the Scuole di San Teodoro, dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone, di Santa Maria di Valverde.[1] We must also mention among the miniatures the coloured illustrations of various books of travel, and the maps and sailing charts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[2] Nor should we omit those figures of saints, rudely painted by artificers called *miniasanti*, on little slips of parchment, which used to be distributed to the devout

[1] See Chapter IX. The earliest *Promissione ducale* with miniatures is that of Francesco Dandolo, preserved in the archives, along with the *Capitolari* of the *Consiglieri ducale* and of the *Procuratori* the *Mariegola di Santa Maria Valverde*. The earliest illuminated *Capitolare* (1342) is the *Mariegola* of the *Pelizeri d'ovra vera* (beginning of the fourteenth century) and of the Scuola di San Teodoro, both in the Museo Civico. See Cheney, *Remarks on illuminated official manuscripts of the Venetian Republic*, s. l., 1869.

[2] Bratti, *Min. Veneziani* (in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*), p. 5. Venezia, 1901.

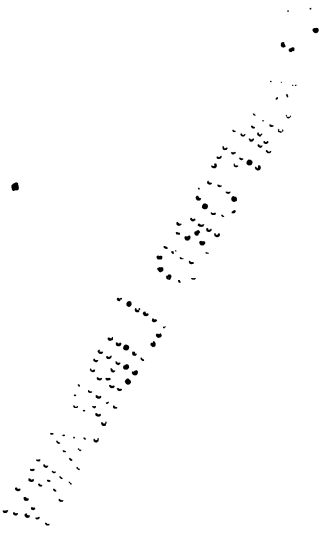
in churches and among the guilds of devotion and of trade.

In the more precious illuminations of the Trecento we find the characteristics of the Bolognese school, — the golden arabesques, the heavy foliage, in heraldic style, and the favourite colours, azure, carmine, rose. We know that Venice gave hospitality to many artists from Bologna,[1] the city where illumination had reached the highest point under such masters as Franco, said to be a pupil of Oderisi da Gubbio, and Niccolò di Giacomo.[2] The art of the Bolognese miniaturists, originally confined by its very nature to the treatment of small designs, proceeded to develop by a careful study of other schools and by more liberal teaching,

[1] Among Bolognese painters who lived in Venice there are recorded, first of all, Giovanni da Bologna, with whom Moschetti has dealt in the *Rassegna d'arte* (anno III, fasc. II and III). We have the following notice of Giovanni: *Johannes de Bononia pictor in contracta Sancti Luce de Venetiis* (1389). (Arch. di Stato, Sez. Notarile, Test. Nicolò de Ferrantibus, Busta 436, n. 535.) Ancient documents record, among other Venetian illuminators, Simon *aminiator* (1336), *Franciscus aminiator presbiter* (1340), Raimondo di Santa Maria Nuova, Andrea Amadio, Giacometto Veneziano, Ventura da Venezia, etc. (Cecchetti, *Nomi di pitt.*, etc., loc. cit., p. 45). On the other hand, we find at this time many Venetian artists who went to Bologna. Here are some names taken from the Archivio di Stato in Bologna: March 9, 1343, Rigo q. Manfredo di Venezia, *pittore*, accused of having assaulted Domenico da Modena, servant of Einoldo, a German soldier belonging to the company of Giovanni della Torre. (Atti Giudiziali dell' anno 1343, n. 786, p. 94.) — 1382; the company of Notaries, wishing to restore the old pictures and to place new ones in their church, resolve that, if a capable artist is not to be found in Bologna, they will send to Venice, "ubi dicitur et creditur esse magna ars de talis tabulis et figuris." (Società dei Notai, *Provvisioni*, Vol. 1376, Segn. ✠, fol. 11.) — November 3, 1389; a warrant for payment to Zannino da Venezia, for having painted the arms of the King of France in the audience hall of the Palazzo pubblico. (*Provvisioni*, serie III, *Mandati*, Vol. for 1389, n. 42, under date.)

[2] Malaguzzi-Valeri, *La Miniatura in Bologna dal XIII al XVIII sec.* (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, T. XVIII, 1896).

Bas-relief in painted wood (XIV century)
in S. Donato di Murano



but in Venice it failed to rise to the dignity of a wider pictorial field. The earliest Venetian pictorial monument with a sure date belonging to the fourteenth century, but anonymous, is a bas-relief in wood, gilded and painted, now in the basilica of Santi Maria e Donato in Murano.[1] In the middle is San Donato in Episcopal habit; at his feet two kneeling figures represent the Podestà of Murano, Donato Memo, and his wife. The inscription is one of the earliest examples of the Venetian dialect and runs thus: *Corando MCCCX indicione VIII in tempo de lo nobele homo Miser Donato Memo honorando podestà de Muran facta fo questa anchona de Miser S. Donado.* Belonging to the year 1321 are the remains of the tomb of the blessed Leo Bembo, carved in wood. It used to stand in the chapel of San Sebastiano attached to the church of San Lorenzo. That chapel has long since disappeared, and the remains of the monument are now preserved in the cathedral of Dignano in Istria.[2] Still another painting on panel is used to fill the ogival arch over the tomb of the Doge Francesco Dandolo (1339). Many other anonymous works of this period have either been lost or destroyed; for example, the portraits of the Doges from 1340 to 1367 which were in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, and the story of Pope Alexander III and the Emperor Frederic, painted in the chapel of San Niccolò in the Ducal Palace.[3] On the other hand, the docu-

[1] Cicognara, Selvatico, and others class this monument among sculptures, Cavalcaselle (*Storia della Pitt.*, Vol. IV, p. 266) among paintings. In any case it displays the qualities of both.

[2] Caffi, op. cit. Caprin, *Marine Istriane*, p. 310. Trieste, 1889.

[3] Arch. di Stato, December 11, 1319, Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni, *Liber Fronesis*, 1318–1325: "Quia Ecclesia Sancti Nicolai de Palatio est tota nuda picturis Capta fuit pars, quod denarj qui pervenient de bonis

ments preserve the names but not the works of many painters of the Trecento, even indicating their dwellings. There are, however, a few pictures whose authors are known. From the hand of Master Paolo (fl. 1332–1358) — called to paint in 1346, for the chapel of the Ducal Palace, an *ancona* now lost[1] — we have a panel at the back of the Pala d'oro in San Marco; this picture he and his sons, Luca and Giovanni, executed in 1345; also an *ancona* in three panels brought from the disused church of San Gregorio to the Accademia, and other paintings at Piove di Sacco in the province of Padua, at Vicenza, at Sigmaringen and at Stuttgart. The painter is evidently still trammelled by the traditions of rigid ritual. Nor are his contemporaries farther emancipated, though their work is not lacking in a certain attractive naïveté. Take Niccoletto Semitecolo (fl. 1351–1400), whose Legend of San Sebastiano (1367) in the Chapter Library of Padua is not without merit; or Catarino and Donato, who in 1372 painted in company the remarkable Coronation of the Virgin, now in the Quirini-Stampalia gallery in Venice, with another picture by him; or Jacobello Bonomo, who in 1385 painted an admirable *ancona* for the church of Sant' Arcangelo di Romagna; or Giacomo Alberegno, the painter of the Crucified Christ in the Accademia; or

quondam cuiusdam de cha Crippo mentecapti, quibus Commune debet succedere debeant expendi, et ipsi in laborerio picturarum dictae ecclesiae pingendo in ea historiae Papae quando fuit Venetiis cum Domino Imperatore."

[1] Arch. di Stato. An account of expenses for the Palace, *Procuratia de Supra, Archivio Fabbriceria della Basilica di San Marco — Processo* 180, Busta 77, 1346: "Die 20 mensis Julii dedimus ducatos 10 auri magistro Paolo pentore Sancti Lucae pro penturam unius Anchonae factae in Ecclesia Sancti Nicolai de Palatio."

Stefano, parish priest of Sant' Agnese, who flourished between 1354 and 1384. We have indications of stronger vitality in the work of Niccolò di Pietro, the painter of the *Vergine* (1394), now in the Accademia, and of the *ancona* executed in 1408 for the Amadi, whose central panel now adorns the altar of Santa Maria dei Miracoli[1] and of Lorenzo Veneziano, who flourished between 1357 and 1379 (?). His work, preserved in the Accademia of Venice and Vienna, in the museums of Venice and Padua, and in the cathedral of Vicenza, rises above that of his contemporaries, and we may consider Lorenzo as the best of these trecentisti, for Antonio Veneziano, of the family of Longhi, cannot be reckoned a Venetian, since he lived and died in Tuscany, where, in the Campo Santo of Pisa, he painted the beautiful frescoes representing the story of the blessed Ranieri.

These works of the primitives are adored by the devout in religion and in art, not so much for their intrinsic value as for a certain air of mystery and suggestiveness which they possess. It is, however, remarkable that these early pictures, in spite of their childlike ignorance of drawing, are ablaze with a colour as rich and deep as we could expect to find in a school of painting already well developed. This feeling for colour, so characteristic of Venetian painting from its very outset, found its natural element in the climate and the race, in that vaporous atmosphere which blunts all rigid outline in the objects seen, and envelops them in an ethereal ambient with a thousand strange

[1] Niccolò di Pietro signed himself *Nicholaus filius magistri petri pictoris de Veneciis qui moratur in chapite pontis paradixi.* An altar piece of 1394 in the Accademia di Venezia is by this master. On a cross carved by Caterino Moranzone and painted by Niccolò for the Augustinian monks of Verucchio we read: *MCCCC Nicolaus Paradixi Miles de Veneciis pinxit et Catharinus sancti luce incixit.*

reflections of light. Genius, of course, takes its attitude towards the beautiful from the varying circumstances of race, of atmosphere, of climate. Tuscany produces a school whose note is grace and purity of design ; Venice gives birth to an art which in its rich and mellow harmony of colour reproduces the sensuous splendour of its natural surroundings. But this passion for colour had already found expression in Venetian architecture, where a brilliancy of polychromatic effect was obtained by precious marbles and mosaics, rude in design, but blazing with the magnificence of gold and colour ; and in consequence, the colourist's art, finding satisfaction in the harmonies of variegated marble, was slow to apply itself to panel or to fresco, even when painting was coming into vigorous life, not only in other regions of Italy, but also in the cities that lay close to Venice on the mainland.

During the earliest period of painting two Venetian cities, Verona and Padua, hold an important place. Even in the darkest middle ages Verona was not without some tincture of the art,[1] while the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries give us the masters Ognibene,[2] Poia, Bartolomeo, Guglielmo, Guidotto, il Turone, one of whose panels is in the Museum of Verona, Martino, and Stefano da Zevio. From this same village of Zevio came Altichiero, who had for partner and follower another distinguished Veronese artist, Jacopo d'Avanzo,

[1] The paintings in the chapel of S. Nazaro at Verona belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Cipolla, *Una iscriz. del 966 e le piu antiche pitt. Veron.* (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXVII, p. 413). The mural paintings in the crypt of San Fermo Maggiore, in San Zenone, and San Siro e Libera, come later. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *St. della Pitt.*, Vol. IV, p. 140.

[2] This name, unknown hitherto, was found by Prof. C. Cipolla recorded in a parchment of the Archivio of the monastery of San Fermo Maggiore, dated May 6, 1263 (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXI, p. 143).

not to be confounded with mediocre Bolognese Jacopo Avanzi. Altichiero worked in Verona and also in Padua, in the Palazzo del Capitanio and in the Sala dei Giganti in company with a certain Ottaviano Prandino of Brescia, and in the Santo and in the neighbouring chapel of San Giorgio in partnership with Jacopo d'Avanzo (1376), who also produced other work of great beauty.[1] Altichiero and d'Avanzo, who improved on the manner of Giotto, may be called the precursors of the pictorial Renaissance in Italy, and it was on their work that the great Pisanello built his style.

In these early days of the art Padua adorned herself with the marvellous works of Giotto (b. c. 1267, d. 1337) in the Scrovegni Chapel (1303–1306), and can further boast of having given birth to one of the best masters of the Trecento, Guariento, who in 1365 was invited by the Venetian Republic to work in the Ducal Palace. There in the Sala del Maggiori Consiglio he painted the fresco of the *Paradiso*, covered later on by Tintoretto's great canvas of the same subject. Vasari also records Giusto de' Menabuoi as a Paduan. He and Cennino Cennini came from Florence to Padua, and found a patron in Francesco da Carrara, who showered honours upon them and granted them the citizenship. Menabuoi painted the chapel of the Cortellieri at the Eremitani in frescoes which unfortunately were destroyed in 1610. Later than the year 1420 Giovanni Miretto, a Paduan, and some brother artists decorated the Great Hall with scenes illustrating the influence of the stars and the seasons upon human life.

But before the great style of Giotto asserted itself, some of the painting in North Italy shows the inspira-

[1] *Notizia d'opere di disegno*, published by Jacopo Morelli. Ed. Frizzoni, pp. 10, 78, and 80. Bologna, 1884.

tion of Franco-German chivalrous art; we have a sure proof in certain monuments still existing at Treviso, notably in the Loggia dei Cavalieri, probably built towards the close of the twelfth century. The paintings in this loggia which still survive the ravages of time and of man were executed towards the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, and offer us one of the oldest representations of the chivalric period in Italy. They are inside the loggia and run in two bands; the lower has lovers in couples, grotesques and figures taken from the *Bestiarî* and books of symbolic designs such as the *Phisiologi* and the *Lapidarî*, which used to delight the middle ages. In the upper row we get the siege of Troy, one of the favourite subjects of chivalry. On the façade of the loggia are painted scenes of chivalry, knights proceeding to the tourney, heralded by trumpeters and followed by noble ladies and troubadours. Other precious monuments of pictorial art exist in Treviso; for instance, the frieze of the Great Hall where the Parliament of the Trevisan Marches used to meet,— the frieze represents chimeras, monsters, episodes of the chase and of the tourney; or, again, the frescoes which were detached from an old house and taken to the Museum, — these belong most likely to the end of the thirteenth century, and show us the deeds of the Paladins, and love scenes taken from the French cycle. These various flowers of a foreign seed, transported and reared in Italy, are our surest proof of the influence of the North upon the peninsula.

Although the city where "Sile e Cagnan s'accompagna" cannot compare with Verona and Padua, the homes of great seignorial houses, nevertheless Treviso of the fourteenth century may boast her services to

painting and her place in the history of that art. The names of the earliest Trevisan painters are those of Gabriele Villa and his son, of Master Perenzolo (dead by 1355),[1] son of Angelo the painter, and several others whose works are unknown.[2] To this period belong the frescoes of the story of Saint Ursula, remarkable for a vivacity of feeling which has already freed itself from the trammels of tradition and is seeking to reach the truth. These frescoes were in the church of Santa Margherita, and have now been taken to the Museum.[3] They are ascribed, on the ground of analogy of treatment, to Tomaso da Modena, a painter who about the middle of the Trecento became famous beyond the Marches of Treviso. Though Tomaso was not a native of Treviso,[4] he lived there for long, and there produced his most notable works, among them his masterpiece in the chapter-house of the Preaching Friars of San Niccolò, — a frieze of saints, pontiffs, cardinals, friars,

[1] In the oft-quoted inventory of Oliviero Forzetta, Master Perenzola is represented by a picture *in quo sunt omnia animalia et omnia pulcra.*

[2] Paoletti, *Raccolta di doc. inediti per servire alla storia della pitt. Veneziana.* Padova, 1895.

[3] Bailo, *Degli affreschi salvati nella demolita ch. di S. Margherita.* Treviso, 1883.

[4] Some make Tomaso a Modenese, others a Trevisan, others again a Bohemian. In one document he is called *Mauth* or *Meyto*, Latin *Mutina.* Tiraboschi (*Bibl. Mod.*, T. IV, P. II, p. 481) reclaims for Italy and for Modena the honour of having given birth to the famous artist. Federici (*Mem. Trev.*, cit., p. 51) and Schlosser (*Tomaso da Modena und die Altere Malerei in Treviso.* Wien, 1898) endeavour to prove that Tomaso was born in Treviso, and that *da Modena* is a family, not a locative name, as in the case of Vettor Pisano the Veronese, and Girolamo da Carpi the Ferrarese, the Lombardi of Venice, and so on. Later writers (Bertoni and Vicini, *Tomaso da Modena.* Modena, 1903) proved by documents that Tomaso Barisino was born in Modena in 1325; that he probably lived at Treviso from 1346 to 1359; that after 1360 he was at Karlstein in Bohemia, at the court of Charles IV, and very likely died in Modena in the first months of 1379.

sitting in their cells in contemplation. On the dado of the four walls the provinces of the order, the monasteries of Lower Lombardy, and the Generals of the Dominicans, in chronological sequence, are recorded in roundels.

Other towns and districts of the Veneto boast their painters in the fourteenth century, — Niccolò da Gemona (fl. 1331); Simon da Cusighe, near Belluno (fl. 1350–1416); Bernardo, also from Belluno, — rude and unskilful craftsmen, it is true, but their existence proves that a vital force was stirring in the world of art. At Venice, on the other hand, not even at the opening of the Quattrocento, when splendid works of architecture and sculpture began to adorn the city, did the art of painting acquire new life; nor can we discover the ideas and the notes of a new artistic conception in the midst of much enthusiasm and sincerity of enterprise and of production. The master who appeared on the threshold of the new era, Niccolò Pietro Paradisi, still retains something of the earlier Gothic-Byzantine style, though his work reveals the influence of Giotto, as, for instance, in the crucifix of Verrucchio, painted in 1404.[1] This explains why the intelligent rulers of the State, when they intended to decorate the Hall of the Palace, after calling in the Paduan Guariento in 1365, sent for Gentile di Niccolò di Maso da Fabriano (1370–1429?) and for Vettor Pisanello (1380–1451) the Veronese in 1411. It was to these two artists, who covered the ample walls of the Ducal Palace with their compositions, that Venice owed the first impulse towards a new artistic life. Their influence is seen on the timid artificers of the early Quattrocento, struggling to free

[1] Niccolò calls himself Paradisi because he lived near the Ponte del Paradiso.

Jacobello del Fiore — The Coronation of the Virgin (1432). (Royal galleries of Venice)

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themselves from convention, such as Francesco de' Franceschi Donato Bragadin; Fra Antonio of Negroponte, whose Madonna in San Francesco della Vigna we must mention; Jacobello del Fiore, painter of the Coronation of the Virgin (1432), the first work of large dimensions produced by the Venetian school; Michele Giambono, who, in the mosaics of the Cappella dei Mascoli in San Marco (1450), reproduces with sufficient sincerity the magnificent buildings, the sumptuous adornment of the houses, the rich vesture of various hues, which seem to play with a greater freedom of light and movement amidst the rigid uniformity of Byzantine saints in their conventional attitudes of prayer who are scattered over the vaults of the church. The work of Giambono is of importance, for, not without some grounds, it is supposed to reveal the hand of Andrea del Castagno, who made a brief sojourn in Venice, and in all probability must have exercised some influence on Venetian painting. To this epoch also belongs Carlo Crivelli, a powerful genius and a splendid colourist, who, however, did not work for long in Venice, which city he abandoned in 1468 for the Marche. This contrast between slavish addiction to convention and freshness of artistic feeling becomes more apparent still in the work of Antonio Vivarini (born at Murano in 1415 and died in 1476). About the year 1440 he opened a shop in Venice near Santa Maria Formosa, — one of those primitive workshops where, as Cennino Cennini remarks in his *Trattato*, they made every kind of object that had any connection soever with the art, and turned out altar-pieces complete with their paintings and carved frames. The workshop of Vivarini welcomed, between 1441 and 1449, as assistant, Giovanni d'Alemagna, the well-known

Joannes Alemannus, from the school of Cologne ; and two other fine spirits of the Vivarini family, Bartolomeo and Alvise, brother and son of Antonio, were also educated there ; while Quirizio and Andrea da Murano were followers of the style. These first efforts to raise and vivify the Venetian school of painting found help from the school of Padua, where a great revolution had been initiated by Squarcione (1394–1474) and carried out by Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506), — a revolution which entirely changed the method and aspect of the art. Under the illuminating influence of Mantegna and Donatello the Venetian school was enabled to assimilate other elements from the study of the *ponentini*. The active and frequent commercial relations between Venice, Flanders and Germany brought to the notice of the Venetians the works of many northern artists, — Van Eyck (1426–1440), Van der Weyden (1399–1464), Memling (1435–1490), and others whose names are to be met in the catalogue of Morelli's *Anonimo*. Two pictures, the *Paradiso* (1444) and the Madonna enthroned with the four Doctors of the Church (1446), painted by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, by their brilliant colouring reveal the influence of the North. The earliest dawn of that art, which was afterwards displayed by Giorgione and Titian, may be still better noted in the work of Jacopo Bellini, a master of a lofty genius, who, however, even in our own day, is better known as the father of Giovanni and Gentile and as the father-in-law of Mantegna, than for his own rare merits. He was the true founder of the early Venetian school, and among his compatriots, even of the best period, had none to surpass him in masterly grasp of the antique harmoniously blended with a realistic rendering of actual life. We have but

scanty information as to his career, which began about 1400 and closed about 1470.[1] He sprang from humble origin. His father, Niccolò, was a tinsmith. As a youth Jacopo found neither instruction nor help among the conventional painters of his native town; but the new methods introduced into the lagoon by Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano soon brought him to appreciate the masterly delicacy of their art. He became a devoted pupil of Gentile, and followed his teacher to Florence. There an incident reveals to us the quick temper of the young Venetian painter; in 1424, in the course of a brawl, he thrashed Bernardo, the son of Ser Silvestro di Ser Tomaso, and was condemned to prison, where he stayed till his adversary generously declared that he pardoned the assault.[2] In 1429 Jacopo came back to Venice with his wife, Anna, who bore him Gentile and Giovanni. He worked much in Venice, Verona, Ferrara, where he was brought into happy rivalry with Pisanello, and in Padua, where very likely

[1] Molmenti, *I pittori Bellini* (*Studî e ricerche di storia d'arte*. Torino, 1892). Cantalamessa, *L'arte di J. Bellini* (*Ateneo Veneto*, Marzo-Aprile, 1896). Paoletti and Ludwig, *Neue archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Venezianischen Malerei* (*Repertorium für Kunst wissenschaft*. Berlin and Stuttgart, XXII Band, 1899).

[2] This declaration has been preserved to us, and confirms the accuracy of all the biographies, from Vasari downward, which affirm that Jacopo was a pupil of Gentile da Fabriano, for he is so described in the document. Adolfo Venturi, however, has raised a doubt, on the ground that in the document Jacopo is called the son of Pietro, whereas other documents prove him to have been the son of Niccolò, who made his will in 1424. But Cantalamessa very properly observes that in order to upset so old a tradition more is required than a disagreement in names, which might quite well have arisen from the carelessness of a clerk. Further, argues Cantalamessa, the document was damaging to the reputation of Jacopo, a stranger in Florence, who, in a fit of resentment and under the necessity of preserving intact his fair name in Venice, very likely gave a false name for his father. It is a case where the accused and the witness are one and the same person. Cantalamessa, op. cit., p. 11.

he knew Donatello and had professional relations with Mantegna, to whom he gave his daughter Nicolosia in marriage. Donatello taught him some of the secrets of the great Tuscan masters, while from Mantegna he learned how to study and worship classical sculpture. Among the few works of his rescued from the ravages of time and of man, we still possess two Madonnas, one in the Tadini Gallery at Lovere, the other in the Accademia at Venice,[1] and a crucifix in the Museum of Verona. But as a convincing proof of his mastery in comparison with the tentative timidity of his contemporaries, we need only cite the admirable drawings in the British Museum and in the Louvre. They display a rich and varied fancy, coupled with a severe study of antiquity, which brought Jacopo to that perfection which he himself attained and left as a legacy to his sons and his pupils. Jacopo Bellini not only sowed the first seeds of the great Venetian school of painting, but laid down its laws, indicated its aims, gave it the imprint, which was developed, in later years, on grander lines, but was never changed.[2] With him comes to a close the middle ages, and the art of painting begins to look forward to the glory of the Renaissance which was destined to steep Venice in new splendours.

[1] To these two Madonnas some, not without good grounds, wish to add a Madonna in the Louvre and another belonging to Jean Paul Richter in London. Ricci, *I dipinti di Jacopo Bellini* (*Emporium*, November–December, 1903). G. Cagnola, *Intorno a Jacopo Bellini* (Rassegna d'arte, March, 1904).

[2] Cantalamessa calls him *il capitano della schiera portentosa*, and Lafenestre (Venise, p. XI) *le vrai fondateur de l'école Vénitienne*. This view of Jacopo Bellini's place is not new; as early as the seventeenth century it was announced by Piacenza (*Giunte al Baldinucci*, Vol. II, p. 62, 1770).

CHAPTER XIII

CULTURE

DURING the period of her early growth Venice devoted her whole attention to the formation of her constitution, and was entirely absorbed in war and commercial enterprise. It is true that the city was adorned with buildings, both religious and civil, which displayed all the grace of the Byzantine style, and that the government fostered artistic industries; but architecture, intimately associated as it is with the civil and religious life of a State, aims at delighting the eye rather than at meeting the needs of the citizen, while artistic industries are in close connection with commercial enterprise. In neither case was art for its own sake the immediate object. We may take, indeed, as a proof of their liking for the arts, the fact that the Venetians brought back to their country, as trophies of victory, monuments of high artistic value; but far above all other considerations in their minds, as in the minds of the ancient Romans, was the sentiment of national pride and martial spirit, and in the excitement of victory or the confusion of the sack every object of any value was carried off to adorn the temples and the homes of their native city. Impatient of all refinements, the growing State, in its rude republican vigour, did not achieve the accomplishment of the arts, nor did it lend itself to the encouragement of letters, which in the earlier years must

have all but starved. *Literarum studiis operam non dabant*, says Cardinal Agostino Valier, and adds: *si qui fuerunt, qui literis delectarentur, erant perpauci.*[1] Although we hear that the Patriarch Paulinus, as early as 733, was a master of *belles lettres*, and record remains of some learned bishops of Olivolo,[2] general education must have been at a very low ebb if some of the Doges, Pietro Tradonico and Tribuno Memo for example, could not write, and had to sign documents by a *signum manus*.[3] It is, of course, true that the condition of other Italian cities was no better; in 825 the *Capitolare* of Lothair affirms that learning *cunctis in locis Regni Italici funditus extincta.*[4]

Nor, as time went on, did Venetian learning approach the glory of Venetian arms. In the eleventh century we find mention of Domenico Marengo, Patriarch of Grado, learned in Greek, of San Gherardo Sagredo, who was a theologian, and of some chroniclers whose works have for the most part disappeared. The oldest chronicles we possess belong to the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century: they are the *Cronaca de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie;* the *Chronicon gradense,* attributed to Vitale IV Candiano, Patriarch of Grado; the *Cronaca Veneziana* of John the Deacon, *capellanus ducis Venetiarum*, the latest notice

[1] Valerii, Aug., *De cautione adhibenda in edendis libris*, etc., c. 48. Patavii, 1719.

[2] Gallicciolli, Vol. II, p. 1713.

[3] In the will of Orso, Bishop of Olivolo (835), the notary writes *signum manus excellentissimo Petro* (that is, the Doge Pietro Tradonico). Cfr. Gloria, *Cod. Dipl. Pad.* Venezia, 1877. Among the witnesses to the deed founding the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore (986) we get: *signum manus Tribuni ducis* (that is, the Doge Tribuno Memo). Cfr. Ughelli, *It. Sacra*, Vol. V, p. 1200.

[4] *Leges Lombardicae* (*Rer. It. Script.*, Vol. I, P. II, p. 151.)

of whom is in 1018,[1] and the *Cronaca Altinate*, so called because one of the several fragments of which the chronicle is composed, refers to Altino. Of these various fragments some belong to the tenth, others to the eleventh century.[2] Belonging to the twelfth century we have the *Annali Veneti;* the *Storia dei dogi di Venezia* from 1102 to 1229, a codex in the Patriarchal Seminary at Venice; the *Cronaca* of Marsilio Zorzi, the lost account of the apparition of San Marco, written by Zenone, abbot of San Niccolò del Lido, and the *Historia de translatione Sancti Nicolai* by an anonymous monk of San Niccolò. The thirteenth century gives us another anonymous account of the apparition of San Marco, and the *Relatio de pace Veneta*, which took place in 1171. The authors of these chronicles were almost all clerks, who, in the midst of universal ignorance, preserved the sacred legends, and in their theological studies give us the first dim light of literary culture.

Poetry had no share in brightening the infancy of this culture. The vast and silent spaces of the lagoon would seem made to unlock the divine fount of song, and yet the muses were never held in high esteem in Venice, or, perhaps, it would be truer to say they were never worthily wooed, and never attained any great influence upon general culture, even when refinement had reached a high standard. The genius of the Venetians was always more inclined to matters of trade, to political discussion, to severe studies, than to the graces of verse and song; and if we find a

[1] Monticolo, *Cron. Ven. antichiss.*, preface.

[2] Simonsfeld, in his edition (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, XIV), has omitted the interpolated passages, and for his text has adopted Cod. Vat. 5273 (sæc. XIII) with the variations in the MSS. at Dresden, in the Patriarchal Seminary at Venice and in the Marciana, Lat. Cl. XI, 124.

superabundant crop of historico-political verse centring round the glories of the Republic, it has no literary value whatsoever, and was, in fact, merely an instrument in the hands of the government for tuning public opinion.[1] Before the year 1000 not a single line of verse is to be met with in any of the documents, and the only example of poetry belonging to this epoch is the inscription in honour of the Patriarch Elia when he completed the walls of the church of Grado.

Atria quae cernis vario formata decore
Squallida sub picto coellatur marmore tellus
Longa vetustatis senio fuscaverat aetas
Prisca en cesserunt magno novitatis honori
Praesuli Helias studio praestanti beati
Haec sunt tuto pio, semper devota timori.

We must not, however, conclude that the Venetians were entirely lacking in a delicate sense of poetical emotion; its presence is proved by the crop of legends which gathered round San Marco, and lend a wholly peculiar value to the statuary, the columns, the precious marbles of the building. There is the rock that Moses struck to draw water for the thirsty people; the marbles that saw Christ announce the divine message to the people of Tyre; the stones bedewed by the Baptist's blood; portraits of the Redeemer carved at Jerusalem; likenesses of the Madonna painted by Saint Luke; crucifixes that sprinkle gouts of gore if a sacrilegious hand but touch them; columns of the judgment seat of Pilate on which the bleeding Christ had leaned; symbolical figures designed by the Abbot Gioachino di San Fiore, who was gifted with the spirit of prophecy. Mid the sombre shadows of the church, from the roof and the walls, peopled by saint and prophet, were heard

[1] Medin, *La Storia della repubblica di Venezia nella poesia*. Milano, 1904.

mysterious voices presaging some judgment of God. Such dreams as these were scope enough for the naïve faith, the simple sentiment, the exuberant fancy of the Venetian people, without recourse to poetry in verse or song. And so poesie delayed her advent, and what there was, merely re-echoed the poetry of France. The "joyous art," which had reached perfection in Provence, found a welcome throughout the entire Veneto, especially at Treviso, at the courts of the Ezzetini and of the Caminesi, and in the great castles that crowned the hills of the *Marca Amorosa*. Some flower of culture from the Languedoc was transplanted even into Venice itself, where down the *vie* one might hear the *nouvels chansons et chansonetes et coubles*,[1] and where, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the patrician Bartolomeo Zorzi, *savis hom de sen natural*, could *ben trobar e cantar* in the soft Provençal tongue.[2] Made prisoner by the Genoese, and hearing his country insulted by the Ligurian Bonifacio Calvi, the Venetian poet replied in a *sirventese*, beginning:

Mout fort me sui d'un chan meravillatz.

Another example of graceful French verse has been preserved for us in the poetry of the Venetian lady Cristina, born about 1363, daughter of Tommaso Pisani, Councillor of State and later on summoned to the court of the French King Charles V. Seldom in the middle ages has poetry expressed emotion or the very depths of grief in accents of truer or profounder feeling,[3] than in the verses of this lady, who, left a widow at

[1] Da Canal, *Cron. des Venic.*, cit.

[2] Levy, E., *Der Troub. B. Zorzi*, p. 36. Halle, 1883.

[3] *Œuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, published by Maurice Roy. Paris, 1886.

twenty-five by the death of Stefano du Castel, sought solace in devotion to her children and in learning, which alone enables us to face the changes and chances of this mortal life ;

Carqui bien l'a, trop est grant son pouvoir.

She dedicated herself to the severest studies, and from her poetry, suffused with tenderest melancholy, she passed on to her *Enseignements moraux*, her *Epitres sur le Roman de la Rose*, to her *Proverbes moraux* and her *Livre de Prudence*.

But besides the sumptuous lyric, the epic also found favour with the Venetians, the *chansons des gestes*, born in the north of France and written in *langue d'oil*. The Carolingian cycle, first chanted by the *cantores francigenarum*, and then repeated by Italian *cantastorie* in mongrel dialect, became popular, and left their mark ; for example, the Via Emilia is still called the *strada d'Orlando*. French gradually mingled with the speech of our people, and here and there, blending with chivalrous romance, and with songs of the fair Isotta, of Ginevra, of Lancelot, of Fleur and Blanchefleur, we get fables concealing a satyric intent, such as *Rainardo e Lesengrino*, a Franco-Venetian version of Reynard the Fox.[1] It was in French that Rusticiano of Pisa wrote down the voyages Marco Polo dictated to him, probably in Venetian dialect; and it was in French, the language *la plus delitable à lire et a oir que nule autre*, that Martino da Canal, who lived in the second half of the thirteenth century, recorded the glorious deeds of Venetian arms. One of the earliest and one

[1] Published by E. Teza, Pisa, 1869, and by Putelli in the *Giornale di Fil. Romanza*, Vol. II, p. 186, ser; also by E. Martin, *Le Roman di Renard.*, Vol. II, pp. 358 seq. Strasburg, 1885.

of the warmest invocations of the blessing of Heaven upon the famous city of the lagoons, is to be found in the French of Da Canal:

> aide les Veneciens, et faites orison
> a notre Sieur Dieu, en qui nos bien creon,
> et a sa dame Mère, que Dieu nos fait pardon,
> et manteigne Venice sans nule discorde;
> Pes, bone volonte, sans tirer male corde
> Soit en Venice.

But the mighty influence of Rome still reigned supreme in the minds of men, and the Roman language still survived in all public deeds and in all the more important records of the State. It was in the Latin tongue that, about 1320, Bonincontro de' Bovi, a Bolognese, wrote an account of the visit of Alexander III to Venice; de' Bovi was a clerk in the Venetian chancery, and, as he says of himself, *verbo et opere totus Venetus et Rivaltensis*. Bonincontro's account served as material for the poem on the same subject composed in 1331 by Castellano of Bassano, and from his verses came a large number of the inscriptions which explained the paintings in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio.[1] Belonging to the fourteenth century also are the *Legendae de tempore et de sanctis* written by the Dominican Pietro Calò of Chioggia, the chronicle of a certain Marco which reproduces the *Altinate* and the *Cronaca Da Canale*, the so-called *Storia dei Frati di San Salvatore*, by Francesco Grazia, prior of that monastery (1377). Among the lost but often quoted works we get the *Chronicon Venetum* of Pietro Giustinian, who flourished about 1265, and the *Memoriali* of Piero Guilombardo, who lived about 1330.[2] The

[1] Monticolo, *Note alle Vite dei Dogi del Sanudo*, cit., p. 411, nota 1.
[2] Foscarini, *Lett. Ven.*, Lib. II.

chronicles of Andrea Dandolo the Doge (1354), of Benintendi de' Ravagnani, Grand Chancellor of the Republic (d. 1365), and of his successor Raffaino Caresini (d. 1390), — who found a contemporary translator, — of Lorenzo de Monacis, Grand Chancellor of Crete in 1389, who died at a great age in 1429,[1] all enjoy a wider repute. The work of Dandolo, which comes down to 1339, stands highest in esteem on account of its lofty point of view and its copious information drawn from documents now for the most part lost.

Latin poetry too had its votaries, such as Giovanni the grammarian, the Ducal Grand Chancellor Tanto, and a preaching friar who, in 1316, wrote Latin verses on the birth of a lioness which Frederic King of Aragon had sent to the Doge Giovanni Soranzo; Albertino Mussato sent a reply also in verse.[2]

But literary Latin was the patrimony of the few. In actual life the language had long ago been corrupted under the pen of notary and scribe, who, in the effort to adopt the traditional forms of the Latin tongue to the daily actions of the people, tacked on Latin terminations to the words which in the mouth of the common folk had now for some centuries constituted what was virtually a new language. And here arise the questions: When did the vernacular come into use and how was it constructed? When do we find the earliest records of that speech which came to be now weighty and solemn in assemblies, now soft and caressing in

[1] Although Lorenzo lived well into the fifteenth century, his chronicle does not pass beyond the Trecento; it was published in the eighteenth century under this title: "Chronicon de rebus Venetis ab urbe condita ad annum millesimum trigentesimum quinquagesimum quartum, sive ad conjurationem Ducis Faletri."

[2] Monticolo, *Poesie latine del principio del sec. XIV* (*Propugnatore*, new series, Vol. III, P. II, p. 244. Bologna, 1890).

verse and song? We must not plead that such questions cannot be answered with precision, either for the Venetian dialect or for any other. Dialects had their origin at the same epoch which saw the ethnological combinations that created the race, and are explained by those developments. Thus in ancient Venice two diverse forms of low Latin clashed with each other, — the one which we call *ladina*, that dialectical group to which belongs, for example, the ancient speech of the Bellunesi and Friulani, and the other a speech which we will call Venetian proper, in which the modifications and corruptions of the Latin tongue are less profound and differ considerably from those which characterise the dialects of Lombardy or Emilia. These differences between the true Venetian type, which ended by completely effacing Latin, and the Lombard or Emilian and other mainland types are naturally to be explained by the diversity of the indigenous races upon which the Latin language was imposed. But these differences are produced essentially by the diverse ways in which the original native languages, according to their varying qualities and vigour, reacted on and modified Latin ; that is to say, it is from the diverse words in which Latin was broken down by the native speech, not by the retention of either words or idioms from that speech, that the various dialects came into existence. Some have thought they discovered in the Venetian dialect a strong morphological resemblance to Greek, but they have overlooked the fact that the many Greek words introduced by trade in more or less recent times, and in return for the many Venetian words adopted by Greek, have nothing to do with the fundamental structure of the Venetian dialect. That dialect presents the characteristics of great softness,

and has peculiarities of grammar, vocabulary and phonetics which deserve to be studied by the rigid methods of modern philology, beyond the point where these peculiarities are patent to the ear: for example, the frequent use of diphthongs; a slight drag on the tonic vowels, which lends to the language a curious chant-like quality (*cantilena*), especially observable in the natives of Chioggia and Burano; the accent, now sonorous, now tender; the prolonged ultimate syllable, — which, as time went on, came to be truncated in nouns, adjectives and infinitives, at least in Venice itself though not in all the adjacent islands of the lagoon; the repetition of the adjective instead of the superlative; and many another characteristic which need not be recorded here. We have no earlier examples of the vernacular in public deeds than some *mariegole* of the thirteenth century, and some acts of the Podestà of Lido Maggiore (1312–1319).[1] Dialect came to be used in chronicles, and Giovanni Lucio, in his *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, cites two, also recorded by Foscarini,[2] which are earlier than the fourteenth century.

But the abundant crop of moral and religious poetry in Lombard and Venetian dialects indicates that it must have had many cultivators in the lagoons; it is certain that the ascetic and didactic poems of Giacomino da Verona, Bescapè, Bonvesin da Riva, Uguccione da Lodi, were in circulation in Venice itself, for in the very earliest copies they are found along with anonymous poems which betray Venetian dialectical forms.[3] We may go even further: the recent publication of Venetian texts proves that a varied literature in the

[1] See Ascoli's profound studies in the *Archivio glottologico italiano*, Vols. I (*Venezia antica*, pp. 448–465), III (244–284) and IV (356–367).

[2] Foscarini, *Lett. Ven.*, Lib. II.

[3] Mussafia, *Mon. ant. di dialetti ital.* Vienna, 1864.

native dialect was flourishing in the lagoons, — we find, for example, both sermons and romances. Romances, indeed, are not confined to the hybrid Franco-Venetian language, but are to be met with in pure Venetian, though the hybrid held its own for many years down into the fourteenth century, and the chief of the Franco-Venetian troubadours, Niccolò da Verona, flourished in the middle of that century.[1]

Already from the heart of Italy new and purer forms of speech and of poetry began to spread over the peninsula; and the constant commercial relations between Tuscany and Venice are sufficient to explain how it came about that Venetian writers were led to imitate Dante and his early friends and followers. At Treviso, where the traditions of the troubadours still survived and flourished, where at the close of the thirteenth and the opening of the fourteenth century we find a university regularly established and constituted,[2] a whole band of able rhymesters on love and politics[3] made its appearance with the fourteenth century. The leader and master was Niccolò de' Rossi, who composed songs on the philosophy of love in the manner of Cavalcanti, and political sonnets in which he dreams of an Italy united under the sceptre of a single sovereign crowned by the Pontiff.[4] Along with his own poems he copied into his note-book, which has come down to us,[5] other poems bearing the names of the most

[1] Crescini, Di una data importante nella storia della epopea Franco-Veneta. Venezia, 1896. *Di Nicolò da Verona.* Venezia, 1897.

[2] Marchesan, *L'Università di Treviso nei secoli XIII e XIV.* Treviso, 1892.

[3] Marchesan, op. cit., Cap. V.

[4] *Sonetti inediti di Mess. Niccolò de' Rossi da Treviso,* published by G. Navone. Roma, 1888.

[5] MS. Barberiniano XLV, 47, autograph of Niccolò de' Rossi.

illustrious contemporary Tuscans, — some of whom were in exile at Venice or in the Veneto,[1] — and also poems by his fellow citizens, such as Gualpertino da Coderta and Albertino Cirologo, or the exiled Venetian, Niccolò Quirini.[2] The illustrious family of Quirini gave to Venice, in the early years of the Trecento, another and far greater poet, Giovanni Quirini, the friend of Dante, who challenged him in a set of sonnets. Quirini is worthy to stand at the head of that noble band of Venetian rhymers which a century later Leonardo Giustinian pictured in his poem, the *Leandreide*,[3] as being passed in review by the divine Alighieri. Thanks to recent research, that band is no longer what it seemed some years ago, a mere list of names.[4] Of Quirini alone we now possess upwards of a hundred compositions,[5] among them several exquisite ballads or *danzette*, as he calls them, which we might well suppose to be the work of one of the very best Florentine poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*, and certain sonnets in which he speaks of the *Divina Commedia*, or mourns the poet dead a few weeks after he had been to Venice on

[1] It would seem that the Lucchese Pietro Faitinelli spent the years of his exile at Venice. His poems are in the Barberini MS. Pietro, son of Dante Alighieri, died at Treviso. Fazio degli Uberti probably lived at Padua; his father was Podestà there for some years.

[2] Marchesan, op. cit. *Canzone d'amore di Mess. N. Quirini*, ed. by L. Biadene. Asolo, 1887. *Sei sonetti di Mess. N. Quirini da Venezia*, ed. O. Zenatti. Bologna, 1887.

[3] An uncritical edition of the *Leandreide* saw the light in *Poesie di mille autori intorno a Dante Alighieri*, Vol. II, 1890. For a critical bibliography see R. Renier in the *Giornale Stor. della lett. ital.*, Vol. XXV, 1895, pp. 325 et seq.

[4] Lazzarini, *Rimatori Veneziani del secolo XVI.* Padova, 1887.

[5] Morpurgo, *Rime inedite di Giovanni Quirini e Antonio da Tempo.* Roma, 1881. *Dante Alighieri e le nuove rime di Giov. Quirini* (*Bullettino della Società Dantesca*, Vol. I, fasc. 7). *Otto ballate di G. Quirini.* Prato, 1896.

a mission of peace, or defends his memory from the posthumous attacks of Cecco d'Ascoli. In the *Leandreide* Quirini is followed by Giovanni Foscarini, between 1350 and 1390, better known in arms and in politics than in letters; by Bonaventura Baffo, a preaching friar, to whom Petrarch addressed one of his *Senili*;[1] by Antonio dalle Binde, a Paduan by birth, but living in Venice, where he was hanged from the loggia of the Ducal Palace for his share in Marino Falier's conspiracy;[2] and by others. Next we come to a writer of higher poetical claims, Jacobello or Belletto Gradenigo, who filled many posts, both in and outside Venice in the late Trecento. In 1390, being then Podestà in Padua, he turned all the four Gospels into terzets, making a single consecutive poem, — an enormous labour; the original manuscript has reached us, and on the first page we have a portrait of the author in a vermilion gown.[3] Gradenigo also transcribed with his own hand a remarkably fine codex of the *Divina Commedia*, and challenged in sonnets Francesco di Vannozzo, a Trevisan at the court of the Carraresi. We have other poets, not included in the list of the *Leandreide*, but not unworthy of record nevertheless: Leonardo Pisani, writer of hymns at the time

[1] Lazzarini, op. cit., p. 41.

[2] Ibid., *Un rimatore Padovano del Trecento* (per Nozze Rossi-Teiss). Bergamo, 1897. Before joining the conspiracy Dalle Binde must have been a *persona grata* to the *Signory* of Venice, for he addressed a sonnet, *in persona del Doge*, to Antonio da Ferrara, asking news of the Venetian victory at Alghero (1355).

[3] The Codex of the *Quattro Evangeli* is in the R. Museum at Berlin, Hamilton Collection, n. 247. For notices of Gradenigo, besides Lazzarini, op. cit., pp. 45, 51, see O. Zenatti in the *Rivista critica della lett. ital.*, V. 3. Tambellini, *Il codice dantesco gradenighiano* (in the *Propugnatore*, new series, Vol. IV, p. 158). Mazzoni, *I quattro Vangeli, concordati in uno da Jacopo Gradenigo* (in the "Atti e Memorie dell' Accad. di Padova," Vol. VIII, disp. 3).

of the processions of the Bianchi, whom he and the Florentine Giovanni Domenichi brought to Venice; and Pietro Natali, author of a catalogue of saints in Latin and of a poem in Venetian-Italian describing in *terza-rima* the visit of Pope Alexander III to Venice. Natali was Bishop of Jesolo, but seems to have been a man of depraved habits, if it be not a calumny that he caused himself to be conveyed inside a Venetian nunnery concealed in a box.[1]

In prose, Fra Paolino, a Minorite, composed and dedicated to Marino Badoer, Duke of Candia, between 1313 and 1315, the little treatise *De Regimine rectoris*, wherein, in purest Venetian dialect, he instructs the father of a family in the virtues private and public. The work is a theoretical dissertation, packed with the usual apothegms, and divided in the usual scholastic fashion; nevertheless we can read, not without interest, some of its pages which reflect faithfully enough the habits of the time.

It was in this same dialect employed by Fra Paolino that the people sang their country, their religion, their loves. Love was the theme of the young men in the fields, and we have records of whole parties fined for singing out of season. In the streets one might hear sonnets satirising the nobility,[2] or long poems on the prowess or the astuteness of the Republic; as in 1373, when the State was at war with the Lord of Padua, and the women of the people going *ad putheum pro*

[1] Lazzarini, *Rimatori*, etc., p. 65: "Petrus Natalis episcopus equilinus, ivit ad Romanam Curiam et volendo paliare culpam suam de excessu quem commisit faciendo se portari latenter ad unum de nostris monasteriis in uno çoffino conatur dicere aliqua contra dominum Patriarcham."

[2] In 1366 a certain Francesco, a goldsmith, was acquitted of a charge of having made "aliquam cantionem vel sonetum in obprobrium nobilium Veneciarum." See Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero*, p. 184.

auriendo aquam would stay *per unum pecium ad audiendum canere unam cancionem facta de novo de paduanis.*[1] We have but few examples of these antique popular songs; only a fragment here and there has been found by chance on the back of some notarial parchment or in some public register, such as the *Lamento della sposa padovana per la partenza del marito crociato*, discovered on a contract in the archives of the Papafava family.[2] More important was the discovery in the first volume of the *Deliberazioni* of the Maggior Consiglio,[3] of some lines from the *Divina Commedia* and a sonnet attributed to Dante, and, side by side with these illustrious rhymes, some love-songs in purest Venetian, proverbs, and toper's saws;[4] and then, as if to give us a lifelike picture of the lazy loafer who thus scribbled over the register, we get the words "Caro compare, andemo a conseio a piâr!" and close by — very much to the point as far as the Councillors of the Republic are concerned — we get the famous sonnet of Guinizelli:

Omo ch'è savio non corre lezero,
ma pensa e guarda quel che vòl mesura;
poi ch'a pensato, reten lo pensero
in fin a tanto ch'el ne l'assecura, etc.

These warning lines recall to mind the verses carved on a marble seat to the left of the Porta della Carta as you enter the Ducal Palace; they are graven on a tablet held up by two angels:

L'om po' fare dié impensar:
e vega quel o' che li pò inchontrar.

[1] Arch. di Stato, Avog. di Comun., *Raspe*, III, fol. 41.

[2] It is a fragment of a Venetian moral or didactic poem. See Lazzarini's edition in the *Propugnatore*, 1888, II, pp. 302–312.

[3] Morpurgo, in the *Giornale di Filologia*, Vol. IV, p. 204, n. 3.

[4] "Chi ben beve ben dorme; Chi ben dorme mal no pensa; Chi mal no pensa mal no fa; Chi mal no fa in Paradiso va; Ora ben bevè, che Paradiso averè."

On the piazza some merry-andrew — maybe a friend of Stecchi and Martellino,[1] two well-known buffoons, who certainly stopped in Venice — would run through his repertoire of songs, hardly suited for politer ears,[2] to the joy of the crowd that hustled about him. But in the world of letters, what was all this in comparison with Tuscany, which already could boast her three great masters who gave language, style and spirit to the whole of Italian literature? In Venice literary culture was so rare among the middle and lower classes that even in the fourteenth century a judge who could not read was not unheard of, — as, for instance, Michele Pampulo, judge at Caorle, *qui nesciens scribere pro se, scribere rogavit* the celebrated Bertaldo;[3] and another judge in Chioggia, who in 1331 signed by a mark, *signum Petri jervasio judicis scribere nescientis*.[4] This, however, does not mean that there was not to some extent an intellectual revival; and without actually believing that in the thirteenth century the Trevisan Niccolò Boccasino, who mounted the pontifical throne as Benedict XI, taught grammar to the children of the Quirini family, while living in Venice, it is quite certain that in this same century public readings in holy writ were instituted; the sublime or the difficult passages of Scripture (*altiora et subtiliora*) were explained in Latin, while the passages referring to conduct[5] were expounded in the vernacular; while philosophy, especially the physics, metaphysics and ethics of Aristotle, were also made the subject of close study.

[1] See *Decameron*, Giorn. II, Nov. 1 and F. Sacchetti, Nov. 144, and the *Rivista critica della lett. ital.*, IV, 167.

[2] Casini, *Rime ined. dei sec. XIII e XIV.*, cit.

[3] Besta, *Jacopo Bertaldo*, cit., p. 122.

[4] Arch. di Stato, Proc. di San Marco, *Misti*, B. 315.

[5] Sanudo Torsello, *Secr. Fidel. Crucis*, L. III, P. XV, c. 22.

The great series of diplomatic reports, a splendid monument of Venetian political wisdom, begins in the year 1268, when a rule was laid down requiring every ambassador, on his return from his mission, to present to the Senate a memorandum of what he had seen and observed during his service abroad. The earlier of these *relazioni* have been lost; the later only are preserved in the Archivio; but it was the Venetian envoys of the middle ages who laid down the lines upon which Venetian diplomats of a later day proceeded in the discharge of their task. These men knew and observed the larger part of the world, and present their picture of it with a depth of insight and a vigour of form never surpassed. We have a further proof that the Venetian aristocracy was cultured as a class in the large number of them who, thanks to their fame for wisdom, were called upon to fill the post of Podestà in the various cities of Italy.[1] Indeed the number grew so great that the Republic was compelled to pass a law[2] by which Venetians were forbidden to accept a Podestaria, or, as they said, *andar in signoria*, if there was a possibility that their services might be required by the State.

Little by little the study of law, philosophy and letters began to take root. The University of Padua, founded in the thirteenth century,[3] was fostered by the Carraresi, enlarged and protected by the Republic, and became a centre of learning whence a new light was shed over the intellectual world when, in 1405, Padua

[1] The earliest instance of a Venetian patrician acting as magistrate in a foreign city belongs to the year 1186, when Matteo Quirini was prætor at Treviso. Burchellati, *Commentorium Mem. Hist. Trev.*, L. III, p. 547.

[2] The law was repealed in 1277.

[3] In 1222 Bishop Giordano opened this university, and called to it the famous Dominican Albertus Magnus; Gosia the Bolognese lectured on law. Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*. Patav., 1757.

passed under the dominion of Venice. The city of Venice itself also summoned teachers of renown, such as Donato del Casentino and Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna; and Domenico Leoni, Marco Giorgi the Servite, Alberto Alberti, Federico Renoldo, and Niccolò Muzio[1] wrote on theology and philosophy. Nor were legal studies neglected during the first half of the thirteenth century. Pantaleone Giustinian, parish priest of San Polo, Tomaso Centranico, Giovanni Michiel, and Stefano Badoaro were appointed by the Doge Jacopo Tiepolo to codify the statutes. In the second half of the same century the Doge Rinieri Zeno named a commission composed of Pietro Badoaro, Marino Dandolo, and Niccolò Quirini to revise the nautical code. Jacopo Bertaldo wrote on jurisprudence, and in the schools of Venice were to be found such famous teachers as Serafino da Bologna (1302) and Uberto di Cesena (1318).[2] In 1342 Andrea Dandolo, who came under the influence of the celebrated Cremonese jurist Riccardo Malombra,[3] opens the list of noble Venetians who took their doctor's degree.[4] Dandolo was rapidly followed by the Doges Giovanni Gradenigo and Marco Cornaro, who distinguished themselves in the faculty of law, as did other patricians: for example, Simone Moro and Marco Pesaro in the thirteenth century; and in the next century Niccolò Morosini, who lectured on the decretals at Bologna, Padua and Parma; Piero Dandolo and Piero Morosini, who read canon law, the first at Bologna, the second at Padua; Antonio Bernardo, who in Padua held the chair of civil law; — all of them brilliant

[1] Agostini, *Scrittori Venez.* cit., Pref. XLIV, XLV.
[2] Agostini, op. loc. cit.
[3] Besta, *Jacopo Bertaldo*, p. 115.
[4] Sandi, III, 261.

examples of those profound studies which went to render the Venetian patriciate eminent in political science, of which Marin Sanudo Torsello's admirable work is so striking a monument.

The government paid more and more attention to public instruction; to the humble dominies (*magistriscoli*) of the earlier days succeeded the readers, the teachers of the abacus and of grammar, the rectors and doctors of the schools in the various quarters of the city.[1] Not only did foreign professors receive the citizenship, but students were granted subsidies from the public purse: as, for example, Fra Francesco di San Tommaso, to allow him to go to the University of Perugia (1333); Fra Marino Eremitano, to go to Paris, in order that *efficiatur sapientissimus teologus quod est honor civitatis nostre* (1334); Fra Michele Neri, *come è costume*, also to go to Paris to study (1350).[2] Private persons, too, endowed scholarships for the benefit of the studious, or left libraries of volumes in costly leather bindings (*cohoperti de corio*). The patrician Giacomo Gradenigo (1340) bequeathed by will a Bible estimated at eighty golden ducats and a Seneca worth forty; in the estate of the Doge Lorenzo Celsi (1365) there is mentioned *unum librum de Dante in quo sunt toti tria libri*.[3] But these students of science

[1] Cecchetti (*Libri, scuole*, etc., in the *Arch. Ven.*, T. XXXII, p. 353) has gathered from documents a number of names of masters, teachers, scholars, and schools. In February, 1087, we find "Domenico del fu Domenico, *magistriscolo* di San Gregorio." Later on, Fra Giordano, teacher to the Knights Templars (1249); Master Corbattino, "lector gramaticae S. Pauli" (1305); Saracinus, "qui legit leges in canonica" (1308); "Nicolaus doctor scolarium Sancti Cassiani" (1314); "Paolo, doctor in the school at San Fantino" (1330); "Antonius Calaber magister gramatice" (1387), etc.

[2] Ibid. ibid., p. 343. His subsidy was *quindici ducati d'oro*.

[3] Cecchetti, loc. cit., pp. 332, 345.

and of letters were not always peaceful citizens. On March 29, 1372, a certain Bartolomeo di Firenze, who *regebat scolas in contrata S. Cassiani*, having quarrelled in the campo Sant' Apollinare with a colleague named Forabosco, *qui docebat abacum*, was stabbed. A certain Gerardo, a Roman, rector of the school at Sant' Apollinare, was summoned as a witness ; all he could say was that while he was busy teaching his class (*dum esset in catedia docens scolares suos*), he heard *quasdam voces in modum querele*.[1] Grammar, *la grammatica*, indeed filled so large a place in men's minds, that it even became a woman's Christian name,[2] and exercised so strong an influence upon the temper that it was sometimes the cause of broils even among the people. One evening in July, 1367, a certain Hermann, a German servant, found himself at Santa Maria Maddalena, near the house of Andriolo the silk-mercer ; he saw Andriolo himself sitting at a window reading a book. The German, *qui sciebat bene gramaticam*, began to argue with Andriolo about his favourite study, and the discussion grew so hot that the too learned townsfolk ended in a slanging match, *contendere cum verbis injuriosis*.[3]

The study of hygiene also went hand in hand with the study of physical science, and Venetian regulations as regards medicine are monuments of prudence. The by-laws of the Doctors and Apothecaries[4] date from April, 1258, and precede the Florentine statutes by half a century. The regulations are admirable, considering

[1] Cecchetti, loc. cit., p. 355.

[2] *Gramatica uxor Petri Spatarii S. Geminiani* (anno 1342).

[3] Cecchetti, loc. cit.

[4] Arch. di Stato, *Giustizia Vecchia*, B. I, reg. I. These statutes were published first by Alvisi (1858), then by Foucard (1859). They have been republished by Monticolo in the *Capitolari delle arti Venez.*, pp. 145, 159. Monticolo does not give *aprile, 1258*, as the absolutely certain date for the statutes of the apothecaries.

that at that date the science of medicine was a prey to the most extravagant superstitions, so that we find Pietro d'Abano believing in the influence of the constellations, and teaching that bleeding was salutary only during the second quarter of the moon. The guild of doctors and apothecaries was governed by a prior and two consuls; it included physicians (*fisici*) and surgeons (*cirologi da piaghe*), approved by the Collegio and by a grace passed in the Maggior Consiglio. Several of these were stipendiaries of the government;[1] towards the close of the Trecento they summoned to Venice the two famous Bolognese doctors, Taddeo and Mondino, to teach medicine.[2] Physicians and surgeons had their rooms for consultations and for cure; the barber-surgeons were allowed to keep their shops open during the closing hours at Rialto.[3] In this earliest dawn of the science we come across the names of some physicians who achieved fame, — Barnaba Dardano, and Giovanni and Girolamo, Venetians, who taught in the University of Bologna.[4] Surgery was not left in the hands of quacks; a law of 1321 provided that no one might practise unless he had been examined by some university and had received his doctor's degree.[5] In 1326 a law compelled both physicians and surgeons to attend a course of anatomy at least once a year;[6]

[1] We often find the Maggior Consiglio voting to summon to Venice *ad salarium* famous physicians, and even agreeing to pay the *fictus domus*.

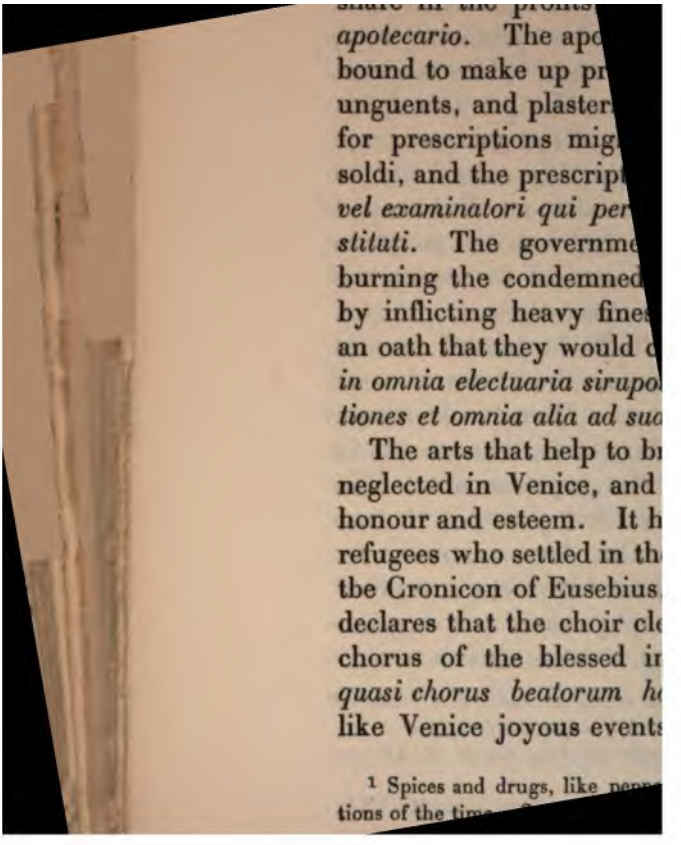
[2] Alvisi, *Considerazioni sull' arte medica di Ven. dal X al XV sec.* Venezia, 1858.

[3] Cecchetti, *La Medicina in Venezia nel 1300* (*Arch. Ven.*, T. XXV, pp. 361 et seq.).

[4] Agostini, op. cit., Pref., p. L.

[5] Romanin, II, 397, III, 363.

[6] Dissection was carried on at various places; in the church of San Paternian, the Hospital of SS. Pietro e Paolo, the convent of the Carmelites, the convent of Santo Stefano, the Frari, the school of San Teodoro, and in some private houses.



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for instance, on the reception of the body of San Marco in 828, when the people came out with dance and song, so that one heard *tota urbs tripudiis et cantis personare*.[1] The *Cronaca Altinate*, recording the entry of some great personage, and mentioning some of the customs of the time, says: *Cum campanis, cantibus et citharis erant praestollentes*. We have, too, an old tradition that Leonardo Veniero, abbot of the monastery of San Giorgio from 1156 to 1194,[2] was a master of music and of song. In the fourteenth century, among other festivals for the recovery of Candia there was a great competition between the best musicians in Italy, and Francesco Landino, surnamed *degli organi* or *il Cieco*, the most famous composer and singer of ballads and madrigals, carried off the prize. The contest, over which the Doge Lorenzo Celsi presided, accompanied by Petrarch and by Pietro Lusignanó, King of Cyprus, included poetical and musical compositions, both choral and instrumental; each author executed his own piece and accompanied it on the various instruments of the time.[3] A well-known illuminated song-book, in the Laurentiana at Florence,[4] has the portrait of the illustrious author and the words and music of many of his compositions, among them, no doubt, the ones he wrote for the Venice competition. Here is an example:

Partesi con dolore
El corpo, vita mia,
E nella tua balìa

[1] Sabellici, *Rerum Venetarum*, Dec. I, Lib, II. Venetiis, 1487.

[2] See Zappert, *Vita Beati Petri Acotanti*. Also Cicogna, *Iscr.*, V, 528.

[3] Roberti, *Due gari musicali a Venezia* (*Rivista Contemporanea*, 1888, I, 61, 68).

[4] *Autori diversi Madrigali, Caccie e Ballate*. Med. Pal. n. 87.

Riman l'anima e 'l core,
Piangono gli occhi lenti
Che, da te dilungati,
Non isperan contenti
Viver, ma tormentati.

Music in Venice was assisted by the soft dialect and the character of the place, the very home of pleasure. It may seem strange that a people wholly bent on facing the realities of life and caring little or nothing for poetry, should have taken such delight in the delicate art of music. Yet the very earliest records assure us that music was eagerly cultivated, and that musical instruments were numerous and very skilfully made. From the island of S. Giorgio in Alga came Priest Giorgio of Venice, who about 815 learned from the Greeks the art of organ building, and became so expert that he offered to build an organ *mirifica arte* [1] for Louis the Pious in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle. We hear, too, of other kinds of musical instruments, the *Rigabello*, the *Torsello*, the *Ninfale*. What the *Rigabello* was like we do not know; it appeared on the tomb of Lorenzo Celzi (d. 1365) in the church of the Celestia, destroyed by fire; nor are we any better off as regards the *Torsello*, which may have been a kind of lyre. On the other hand, a bas-relief of the fifteenth century, which was on the façade of S. Maria della Carità and is now in the sacristy of the Salute, gives us the form of the *Ninfale;* it was a little organ slung round the shoulders of the player, who touched the

[1] "Georgius quidam presbyter de Venetia, cum Baldoino comite Foroiuliense veniens, organum ydrailicum Aquisgrani fecit." Enhardi Fuldensis, *Annales* (Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, I, 350). We get many forms of ancient musical instruments in Jacobello del Fiore's Coronation of the Virgin The wind instruments most in use were the trumpet, the pipe, and the fife Cecchetti, *Appunti sugli strumenti musicali*, etc. (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXV, pp. 74 et seq.).

(A)

(B)

(C)

A — Angels holding in their hands the organ called "Ninfale" in a bas-relief of the XV century. (Sacristry of S. Maria della Salute.) B — Guarino Veronese — medal of Matteo da Pasti. C — Gasparino Barzizza — from a print of M. Pitteri

notes with his left hand while the right worked a pair of small bellows. In the year 1300 the Republic established the Cappella Musicale, and among the papers of the Procuratori di San Marco which still exist, we immediately find notices of organs. The first is dated June 8, 1316, and refers to a Maestro Zucheto, restorer of the organ of San Marco, which was rebuilt in 1364 by Master Giacobello.[1] Then in the fourteenth century we come across other organists and organ-builders, such as Francesco da Pesaro, *pulsator organorum ecclesie Santi Marci*, a Domenico Datolo, a Luciano *ab organis*, a priest Andrea da San Silvestro, organist at a salary of thirty ducats, a Giovanni Tagliapietra with a stipend of twenty-eight ducats including the blower, *menator organorum*, two Servite friars, Antonio and Filippino, and a Fra Giacomo of the Eremitani.[2] There were also women organists, and we hear, in June, 1341, of a *Regina, sonatrix, uxor Pizoli*, who is at law with a certain Dardo Cauco[3] about an organ left in her charge. Organs were played in boats on the water and in the small canals, to accompany the *aubades*, *mattinate* or *albate*, as they were called. Joyous bands of young men in gondolas were wont to invoke a blessing on their loves by saluting the rising sun to the strains of music and of song accompanied by the organ, *cum organis causa matutinandi*.[4] The love of the graceful arts, which was ever on the increase, proves that Venetian culture had already long left behind the

[1] Caffi, *St. Della musica sacra nella già Cappella ducale di S. Marco*, etc., p. 53. Venezia, 1854.

[2] Cecchetti, *Appunti sugli strumenti mus.*, etc. (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXX, p. 74).

[3] *Archivio Veneto*, T. XXXIV, p. 397.

[4] See the quotations by Cecchetti on p. 52, T. XXI of the *Archivio Veneto*.

darkness of the middle ages, and it is difficult for us to understand the accusations of *ottusa et bestiale ignoranza* launched by Dante against the Venetians, were it not certain that his letter which contains the attack is apocryphal and was in all probability written by Doni himself.[1] In this letter Dante, who was ambassador from Guido da Polenta, says that, on presenting himself before the Maggior Consiglio, opening his discourse in Latin, he was begged *cercare alcuno interprete o di mutar favella*, and that he, partly in amazement and partly in contempt, concluded his speech in Italian, though the Venetian councillors understood but little even of that. The conduct of Petrarch would go to prove these charges unjust. He was devoted to Venice, and left her a portion of his library ;[2] he found in Venice *una eletta di amici, di cui non so se siavi migliore*, among them being the Doge Andrea Dandolo and the Grand Chancellor Benintendi dei Ravegnani. And when we reach the threshold of the new culture, when in the fifteenth century the revival of learning swept over the peninsula,

[1] The letter, addressed to Guido da Polenta and subscribed *L'umil servo vostro Dante Alighieri Fiorentino*, was published by Anton Francesco Doni in his *Prose antiche di Dante, Petrarca et Boccaccio et di molti altri virtuosi ingegni*. Firenze, 1547.

[2] This donation was the beginning of the Public Library. But the larger part of Petrarch's books have disappeared. In 1635 the Benedictine Father Fortunato Olmo found in a room over the great door of San Marco a certain number of books. He thought he recognised some as belonging to Petrarch, and sent a list to Tomasini, who published it in his *Petrarcha Redivivus* (Patavii, 1635, pp. 85 et seq.). Those codices passed to the Marciana, and Antonmaria Zanetti described them in the *appendix* to his *Lat. et Ital. D. Marci Bibliotheca*, pp. 207 et seq. Among the supposed Petrarcan codices the most interesting is the Lexicon Cumanicum, which has some verses in the vulgar, attributed to Petrarch. But De Nolhac, after carefully examining the codex, absolutely denies that there is any of Petrarch's writing in it; whereas he thinks that he has found the original of the *Seniles*, dictated by Petrarch, and here and there annotated in his own hand.

Cardinal Bessarione. (Painting of the XVI century — Library of S. Marco)

we do not find that the Venetians, already so rich in practical experience, were lacking erudition.

We have a sure proof that letters had begun to live and to flourish at Venice in the fact that distinguished humanists, like Pier Paolo Vergerio, born at Capo d'Istria about 1370, came and settled and made his first studies there; that about 1407 Gasparino da Barzizza taught there; that Guarino of Verona, the apostle of Greek and Latin culture, held a chair there from 1414 to 1419; that Vittorino Rambaldone, better known under the name of his native city Feltre, the true founder of modern education, opened a school there between 1414 and 1418.[1] And to these we must add Giampietro da Lucca, translator of certain works of Petrarch; Francesco and Giovanni Mario Filelfo, Paolo della Pergola and Perleoni. To Venice, too, before the fall of Constantinople in 1453, came learned Greeks: Leonzio Pilatus,[2] on his way to Avignon, and Manuel Chrysolaras and Gemistos Plethon. From 1433 to 1437 Giorgio Trapezuntius taught in Venice. Later on, when Constantinople fell, many a Greek refound his lost fatherland in Venice and lent powerful aid to the diffusion of Greek culture. First among these we must reckon Cardinal Bessarion, who in 1468 presented his precious manuscripts to the Republic. They were deposited in the Ducal Palace until effect could be given to the resolution of 1422 for the creation of a public library. Bessarion himself, in his deed of gift addressed to the Doge Cristoforo Moro, declares that he desires to intrust his manuscripts to the city which was the meeting-place of the learned of all

[1] Gerini, *Gli scrittori pedagogici ital. del sec. XV*, pp. 10, 42, 270. Torino, 1896.

[2] Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 277-280. Firenze, 1903.

nations, and where the Greek fugitives had found a second Byzantium.

Under such incentives culture went hand in hand with martial valour and commercial sagacity, and, thanks chiefly to the clergy and the nobility, the study of letters grew apace. Lorenzo Giustinian (b. 1380, d. 1465), appointed the first Patriarch of Venice, when, in 1451, the title and the jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of Grado were transferred to the Bishop of Castello, was born not only to honour and bless his native land by his virtue and his charity, which won him, while still living, the veneration due to a saint, but to his religious fervour he added a profundity of learning displayed in his various commentaries on Holy Writ; and before we reach the new era we find three Venetian prelates devoted to philosophy and letters, and eventually reaching the supreme honours of the Tiara: Angelo Correr, as Gregory XII (1406); Gabriele Condulmer, as Eugenius IV (1431), and Pietro Barbo, as Paul II (1464).

Tentative at first, but varied and copious, was the development of Venetian culture; and between the close of the fourteenth and the opening of the sixteenth century many were the learned men to whom Venice gave birth. Fantino Dandolo taught Roman law at Padua; Marco Lippomano, Antonio Dandolo, Agostino Michiel, Zaccaria Trevisan, Niccolò Contarini, were all famous jurists. Barbone Morosini is styled by Biondo *jure consultissimus*, and Lodovicò Foscarini *chiarissimo giurisperito* by Pius II. Not only at Padua, where the atmosphere of study levelled, at least in appearance, all social distinctions, but also in Venice herself, patricians of the highest rank and prestige taught in public. About the middle of the fifteenth century Domenico

Bragadin held a chair, and almost at the same time Lauro Quirini expounded the ethics of Aristotle to the young nobility, who flocked to his classes in such numbers that he was forced to deliver his lectures in the Merchants' Hall at Rialto.[1] Down to the middle of the fifteenth century we come across many ecclesiastics who, though raised to high rank, continued to cultivate and protect letters: Lodovico Barbo, Tomaso Tomasin, Paruta, Fantino Dandolo, Piero dal Monte, Lodovico and Pietro Donato, Jacopo Zeno, Fantino Valaresso, Gregorio Correr, Lorenzo Zane, Domenico Domenichi, and the learned Ermolao Barbaro (b. 1410), Bishop of Verona. In the leisure left them from public cares not a few nobles dedicated themselves to philosophy and to letters, collected manuscripts, and kept up a literary correspondence with the most distinguished humanists; such were the two Zaccaria Trevisan, Niccolò and Paolo Barbo, Lodovico Foscarini, Francesco Contarini, Andrea Zulian, Zaccaria Barbaro, Bernardo Giustinian, Marco Lippomano, the Barbarigo, and the well-known Pietro Tomasi who is so frequently lauded in humanistic correspondence as a collector and student of manuscripts and also as a physician. Among the many patricians who by their studies lent distinction to their country, the austere figure of Francesco Barbaro (1398–1454), a fine Latinist and Grecian, who filled numerous embassies, governed many cities of the mainland, held Brescia against Piccinino, and finally reached the dignity of Procurator of San Marco, stands out in impressive vigour and activity.[2] The magistrate, the

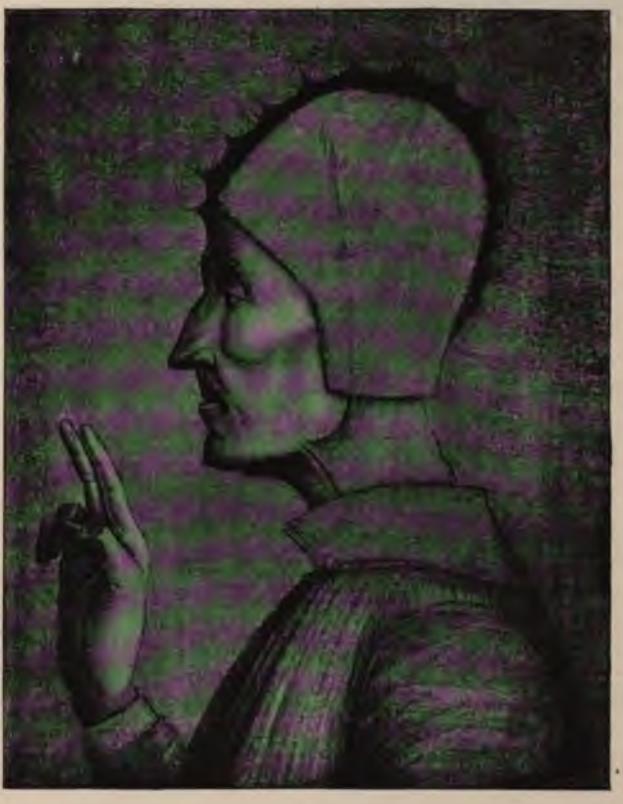
[1] Agostini, op. cit., T. I, p. 205.

[2] Cfr. Quirini, A. M., *Diatriba praeliminaris ad Francisci Barbari et aliorum ad ipsum epistolae.* Brixiae, 1741. Sabbadini, *Centotrenta lettere inedite di F. Barbaro.* Salerno, 1884. Wilmanns, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1884, n. 21.

soldier, the merchant, the scholar, the artist were frequently united in one person. Take, for example, Carlo Zeno, victor of the Genoese, who opened his house at Sant' Agostino to all persons of culture. Another patrician who coupled with the science of government the most exquisite artistic taste, who united the practical common sense of daily life with the pursuit of ideal beauty, was Marino Contarini, to whom we owe the conception of the Ca' d'oro, one of the most graceful architectural monuments of the world. The same hand that signed commercial contracts destined to bring in untold wealth, or subscribed statutes which displayed the most striking political acumen, was often able to design the graceful foliations of a capital. Jacopo Foscari, the luckless son of the Doge, collector of pictures, statues, armour, acquired the reputation of a munificent patron of the arts, and was himself so nobly bred to letters that Lauro Quirini addresses him thus: "tu vir doctrina atque optimarum litterarum studiis eruditus."

Side by side with this literature of the scholarly classic school, ran a fresh stream of popular poetry, usually set to music. From the boats that glided over lagoon or canal rose the joyous sound of song; the immemorial, pungent spirit of the Venetian populace escaped into the open, that there it might indulge itself in a realism tempered by a sense of beauty, and not without a certain malicious smile. This popular poetry is represented in Venice by Leonardo Giustinian (b. 1388), a learned humanist in whom erudition had not blunted the sensitiveness to natural beauty and a love for the genuine native manifestations of the popular muse.[1] A

[1] The *Canzonette* of Giustinian have lately been republished by B. Wiese, op. cit., and by G. Morpurgo (*Canzonette e Strambotti in un codice Veneto*



PORTRAIT of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani
by Gentile Bellini. (At the Academy)

master of music no less than of verse, Giustinian created a new style in song and new metres for his poems, called after him *giustiniane;* they at once met with popular favour, and soon spread all over the peninsula, first in numerous manuscript copies and then in edition after edition as soon as printing was invented. He wrote the music for his own songs, and took the keenest delight in the art to which, as he himself says, "mi trae la natura stessa, che mi guidò per facile via al pieno possesso di ogni genere di musica." In these *ballate* and *canzonette* Giustinian, like Poliziano and Lorenzo il Magnifico later on in Florence, reproduces, while refining, the whole repertoire of love-songs so dear to the people; and by a vivid and sometimes even suggestive realism, but always with a fine artistic sense, he represents the entire gamut of lovers' quarrels, the quaintest dialogues between mother and marriageable maid, between mistress and servants who have been playing the pimp — scenes drawn from the life and of convincing realism. This quick and lively poet was a friend of Traversari, of Poggio, of Filelfo, and filled many high offices, among them the Procuratorship of San Marco. A letter of his addressed to Guarino of Verona, who was his master, gives us a pleasant picture of the simple life he led at Murano, the little island *pulita e bella.*[1]

del sec. XV. Firenze, 1883). These publications have been supplemented by Wiese himself and by Mazzoni. For Giustinian's place in the literature of his day see Rossi, *Il Quattrocento.* Milano, Vallardi. V. Cian, while illustrating *un codice ignoto di rime volgari appartenute a B. Castiglione.* Torino, 1900 (*Giornale stor. della lett. ital.*, XXXIV–XXXV) has introduced us to a whole group of popular poetry by Giustinian and others.

[1] Published by R. Sabbadini in the *Giornale stor. d. lett. ital.*, Vol. X, pp. 362 et seq., and more accurately by F. Novati and G. Lafaye in their *Anthologie*, pp. 35 et seq.

The poetry of Alighieri, which illuminates the whole of his own century, found in the following century admirers in the lagoons as well. As a proof that Italy's greatest poet was studied in Venice, we may mention that Fra Matteo Ronto translated the *Divina Commedia* into Latin, and that Paolo Alberti, a Servite, wrote an *Explicatio Dantis Aligerii*.[1] Bernardo Giustinian (b. 1408), son of Leonardo, wrote his *Storia di Venezia* in Latin, the first example of a serious and well-ordered historical work on the Republic; but the chronicles of Venetian prowess compiled by Pietro Giustinian, by Filippo de' Domenichi, by Girolamo Minotto, by Pietro Dolfin, Donato's *Vite dei Dogi*, and Bertucci Venier's *Annali*, are compiled in a hybrid Venetian-Italian.

Although it would seem that culture was still the privilege of the upper classes, for almost all these writers we have mentioned were of noble birth, and many of them clerics, still knowledge was beginning to spread, to break out from the narrow confines, and to penetrate the university, the natural home and guardian of liberal learning. If we look closely, we shall find signs of this dawning freedom which was to waken the human spirit to new life. When, in 1470, Pope Paul II, of the patrician family of Barbo, granted the privileges of a university to the *Collegio delle Arti liberali*, founded about a century earlier, and named as *ex officio* Chancellor the parish priest of San Giovanni in Bragora, where he himself had been born, the Venetian government refused to allow the new university to confer degrees in other faculties save those of philosophy and medicine[2]; degrees in law and theology were

[1] Agostini, op. cit., T. II, p. 611.

[2] The diplomas of the Venetian university had a seal of red wax inclosed in a metal box. The seal represented Saint Luke seated in his chair,

reserved to the University of Padua. It is said that the reason for this resolution was a desire to prevent loss or injury to Padua, but it is not too much to believe that the real intention was to withdraw from ecclesiastical influence the studies most nearly connected with questions of government.

Venice, which proved her intellectual vitality in so many noble ways, was the place where the discovery of printing met with the greatest success. Without embarking on vain speculations as to the pretended invention of printing by Panfilo Castaldi of Feltre, it is quite certain that at the time when Gutenberg in Germany invented the art of printing with movable characters, Venice already knew the use of blocks, and was printing choir-books, missals, figures of saints, playing-cards — *carte da zugar e figure depente stampide*, as we read in the *mariegola* of the Painters' Guild, dated 1441. In all probability the blocks for the *Passio D. N. Jesu Christi*, usually thought to be the earliest instance of xylography in Italy,[1] were cut in Venice about the year 1450. It would seem that in Venice too, before 1470, the priest Clemente da Padova had already, by himself and without direct teaching from anyone else, discovered the secret of movable types;[2] in any case Venice was the city where the new art reached the height of beauty and perfection, where the government encouraged and protected it by wise laws and privileges,

with the bull crouching at his feet. In the exergue was the lion of San Marco and the legend "Sigillum Collegii Fisicorum Venetiarum."

[1] Prince d'Essling, duc de Rivoli, *Le premier livre xylographique italien imprimé à Ven. vers 1450*. Paris, 1903. This opinion is combated, but without sufficient reason, by Bouchot (*La Revue de l'Art*. Paris, December 10, 1903). Bouchot thinks the blocks are the work of a Northern artist.

[2] Marzi, *Giovanni Gutenberg e l'Italia*, p. 91 (*Bibliofilia*, Vol. II, Disp. 3, 4, 5. Anno 1900).

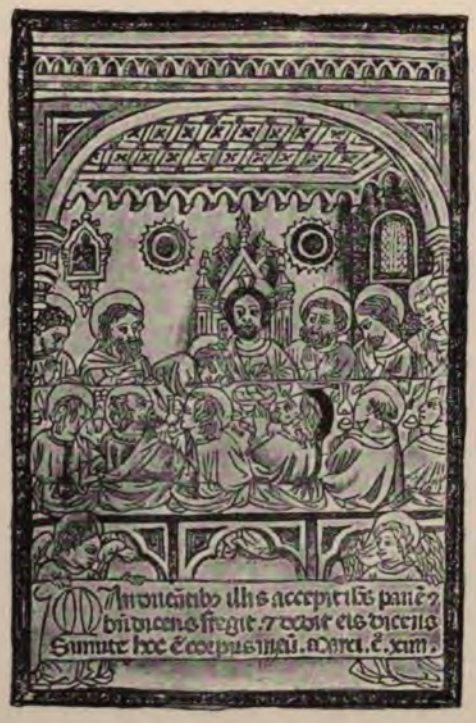
where foreign printers met with the readiest welcome.[1] John of Speyer settled in Venice, perhaps in 1457,[2] and in 1469 obtained from the Doge a monopoly in typography for five years.[3] That same year he printed the *Epistolae ad familiares* of Cicero, and immediately afterwards Pliny's Natural History; at his death, in 1470, he left incomplete the *De Civitate Dei* of Saint Augustine. His brother Vindelin continued the work with remarkable activity down to 1477, publishing as many as sixty-eight editions.[4] In 1470 a no less distinguished artificer, Nicholas Jenson, established himself in Venice. He came from Sommevoir in Champagne, and was hailed by his contemporaries as a prince in his art; he was die-sinker in the mint at Tours, and was sent by Charles VII to Mainz to discover the secret of the new invention, but instead of returning to France he came to Venice. Other great printers of the last twenty years of the Quattrocento, who worked in Venice, are Christopher Valdarfer of Ratisbon (1470), John of Cologne, Adam Rot, Clementino da Padova, Renner of Heilbrunn (1471), Antonio of Bologna, Leonard of Basel, Christoforo Arnoldo, Gabriele da Treviso, Leonard Aurl (1471), Filippo Pincio, Sale da

[1] Castellani, *La stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore*. Venezia, 1889.

[2] Ludwig, *Contratti fra lo stampador Zuan di colonia e i suoi soci*. Venezia, 1901. John of Speyer married Paula, daughter of an Antonio da Messina — not, as Ludwig supposes, the famous Antonello da Messina, born probably in 1430, and who only came to Venice about 1475 and then not for long. La Corte-Cailler, *Antonello da Messina*. Messina, 1904.

[3] "Per annos quinque . . . nemo omnino sit qui velit possit valeat audeatve exercere dictam artem imprimendorum librorum in hac inclyta civitate Venetiarum et districtu suo, nisi ipse magister Johanes," etc. Arch. di Stato, Collegio, *Notatorio*, 19, p. 55.

[4] Marzi, *I tipografi tedeschi in Italia durante il sec. XI* (in the *Festschrift zum fünfhundertjährigen Geburtstage von J. Gutenberg*, by O. Hartwig. Leipzig, 1900).



(A)

(B)

A — The Last Supper. B — Christ led before Pilate — from the book "Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi," printed at Venice in 1450

Padova, Mark of Heilbrunn, Nicholas of Frankfort, Jacopo Rossi, a Frenchman (1473), the priest Lorenzo d'Aquila (1474), John Manthen, Bernard *Pictor*, Peter Loslein, Erard Ratdolt (1475), Antonio Bartolomeo da Bologna, Marco de Conti, Gerardo Alessandrino, Andrea da Cataro, John of Leoviller (1476), Jacopo di Luna, Domenico Siliprandi, Guerino, Guglielmo Gallo, Bruno Valla, Tomaso da Alessandria, Adam of Rotwil, Andrea da Corona, Theodor of Reynsburg, Rinaldo da Nimega (1477), Bonino Bonini, Marino Saraceno, Antonello Moneta, Bernardino Celere di Lovere (1478), Georg Walch, Bartolomeo de Blavis da Alessandria, Nicola Girardengo da Novi.[1] The first Venetian printer was Filippo di Pietro (1472).[2]

Such varied activity of intellect and of industry in Venice destroys all confidence in the hostile remarks of Poggio Bracciolini in his Dialogue *De Nobilitate*, in which he accuses the Venetian patriciate of ignorance and worse.[3] Poggio himself sought to palliate his attack, but that did not suffice to allay the just resentment of the Venetians, who found a worthy mouthpiece in Lauro Quirini.[4] Quirini was fully justified in asserting that the Venetian nobility possessed every title to respect, even if measured by the standard

[1] Tessier, *Stampatori in Venezia nel sec. XV* (*Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXIV, p. 193).

[2] Castellani, *L'arte della stampa nel Rin. Ital.* Venezia, Ongania, 1894.

[3] Poggio, *Opera*, op. cit., p. 67.

[4] Poggio charges the Venetians with being factious, and alleges that they admitted scoundrels to the nobility. We do not possess Quirini's original reply, which was probably vigorous, more vigorous than his polite letter to the physician Tomasi (see *Anecdota Veneta nunc primum collecta ac notis illustrata studio fr. Joa. Bapt. M. Contareni.* Venetiis, 1757, pp. 65 et seq.) in which he refutes Poggio. Segarizzi, *Lauro Quirini Umanista Ven. del. sec. XV.* ("Mem. della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino." Vol. LIV, 1904.)

of the most cultured and civilised races. Even in our own day unjustly severe judgments have been passed upon Venetian culture. Many foreign scholars of weight declare that learning was starved in the fifteenth century, and that down to the days of Aldus Manutius, what little there was existed in haughty and exclusive isolation, that the aristocracy as a whole remained absolutely indifferent to the humanistic movement, that only a few rare exceptions among the nobility embraced the new learning from personal inclination.[1] It is true that the genius of Venice found more vigorous expression in the figurative arts than in letters; but even without going so far as to accept the benevolent appreciation which asserts that Greek culture in Italy spread from Venice and not from Florence,[2] we may affirm that in the revival of classical antiquity Venice had her place; not, to be sure, in the sense in which humanistic studies came to be considered the sole end of life, for in Venice everything was measured by a due sense of proportion, nor could a wave of erudition ever have obliterated the characteristic notes of the race. On the shores of the lagoons a Gemistos Plethon, who sought to restore the gods of Greece, or a Pomponius Leto, who worshipped no other deity but the deity of Roma, and kept the anniversary of the immortal city by bending the knee before an altar erected to Romulus, could never have found a congenial home. The State of Venice was strong enough in wealth and wisdom to dispense with the purchased praises of the erudite, of the

[1] Voigt, *Il Risorgimento dell' antichità class.*, trad. pp. 410, 411. Firenze, 1888. Burckhardt, *La civiltà*, etc., cit., Vol. I, p. 98.

[2] Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, p. 28. Paris, 1875.

grammarians, the collectors and annotators of manuscripts, of the poets, who thronged the Courts of the Italian Despots, where they were received with honours, highly salaried, and even relieved of all taxation, as befell the envious and avaricious Bracciolini, but were expected to pay the price in adulation so mean and shameless as to forfeit all respect. Venice, if she did call to her service the learned, did not do so to purchase facile compliments, but to instruct her youth, destined to high public office, and to open schools for the teaching of *gramaticam rethoricam et alias scientias aptas ad exercitium Cancelleriae ab bene scribere.*[1]

Thus was the Republic strengthened and fortified in the prudence and wisdom of her children. Supremacy in the social scale is always dependent on intellectual quality. No State can pursue its career with success if divorced from the valid support of the intelligence in all its various manifestations. States may rise and flourish on the strength of their enterprise, but when a people has once achieved the height of its grandeur, when it begins to feel the failure of youthful vigour, it turns to the need of rest and recognises repose and comfort. By the end of the fifteenth century the mistress of the seas had reaped the harvest of her energy, of her activity, of her sacrifices; but her splendour, which had already touched its apogee, now began to pass into the region of culture and of art, and already held in itself the earliest germs of decay.

[1] Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Deliberazioni*, R. 29, fol. 144.

DOCUMENTS

Document A — FAVOLE SULLA FONDAZIONE DI VENEZIA

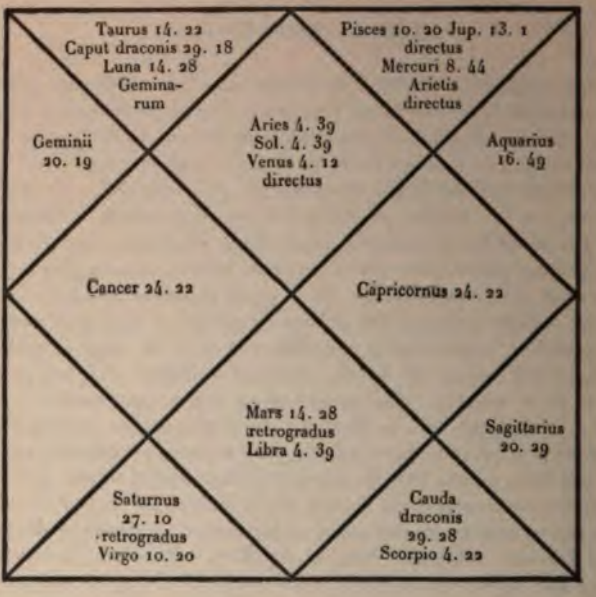
Ædificatio civitatis Venetiarum

Anno a nativitate Christi. In ultimo anno Innocentij pape primi nativitate abuensis aponensis patris Innocentij, Regno pataviensium feliciter et copiose florente, Regentibus rem pubblicam Galiano de Fontana et Simeone de Glanconibus et Antonio Calvo de manis consulibus, Imperante Honorio et Theodosio filio Archadij, decretum est per Consules pataviensium et sancitum, ac per electos primarios seniores popularium ædificare urbem circa Rivum altum et gentes circumstantium insularum congregare ibidem Terram unam potius quam plures portuales habere, classem paratam tenere, exercere et maria perlustrare. Et si casus bellorum accideret hostiumve potentia cogeret, sotiorum illic habere refugium, et vissa gothorum insania et moltitudine, verebantur et recordabantur quod in anno Christi ccccxiii ipsi gothi cum eorum rege Alarico venerunt in Italiam, et ipsam provintiam igne et ferro vastatam relinquerunt et ad urbem processerunt, spoliantes eandem etcetera que alibi scribuntur. Unde patavienses, motum gothorum alias factum et qui eo tempore fiebat a parte australi et occidentali metuentes, anno prædictio scilicet 421 die xvi martij decreverunt urbem portualem et refugialem construere circa hostias fluvij Realti, ubi dicitur Rivus altus, quem qui ex collectis insulis maris et lacunarum et gentibus de provintia venuti fuerunt, voluerunt Venetias appellare. Et missis illuc tribus consulibus qui super fuerunt per bienium dispositionis operis die xxv martij principium fundamenti actum fuit circa horam meridiei. Nomina consulum quos misserunt sunt hæc videlicet: 421 Albertus Fallarus, Tomas Candianus, Genus Daulus. Consules missi de 423 fuerunt Lucianus Gixi Maximus Lucius, Ugo Fususcus.

In hora qua factum fuit principium civitatis Venetiarum, dispositiones planetarum et corporum et partum cœli tales fuerunt ut scripta pacta sic. Et sciendum quod prædicta hora haraba per et collatione minus duobus annis proximis et sex mensibus et quinque diebus, fuit ante octave sphere gr. 2, ante 13. 5. 49 in diminuendo ut patet per argumentum eius qui sunt signa 2 gr. 13. M. 44 ō 47 deinde post figuram cœli in ædificatione ut dictum est significatum fuit ut apparet.

Mille quatercentum Domini cum fluxerit ortus
Octaginta simul quintum non finiet annum,
Ecce novus coluber validus deprehensus ab armis

Adriacis fugiet. Ligurum quoque desert urbes
Confusus potius mundo quam iungere clemens,
Perfida tuscorum rabies non proderit illi
Atque potens Genuæ populus qui fœdere falso
Ispanum Latijdominum sibi iungere quœret:
Se Tibrim cedent raptores atque tiranni
Italie nam fata parant regnare Leonem.



(Dalla dispersa Reccolta Stefani di Venezia.)

Document B — SALINE

958 (?) marzo. Rialto

Il doge Pietro Candiano III, insieme col figlio, cede a Martino di Domenico Cancani una Salina del numero di alcune costruite in un terreno del Governo, verso un moggio di sale all' anno.

In nomine domini dei et salvatoris nostri iesu christi imperantibus dominis nostris Constantino et Romano eius filio magnis imperatoribus Anno autem, imperio Costantino quadragesimo sexto / et Romano eius

filio duodecimo, mense marcii indicione 1 Rivo alto. Pro eo quod salinas *preparatas usque ad absitorias* in tempore totos vestros consortes dedistis et tradidistis in curtis palacii de illas quas ellevastis in ipsa pallude et terrenis que dicitur DE ARCONES que est proprietas palacii nostri et illam vobis largivimus fundamentum salinarum construendum tenente toto ipso fundamento sicut se comprendit ab uno suo capite in palude amurianense et alio in terrena palacii nostri uno latere *in comenzaria* que vadit ad Torcellum et alio in comenzaria barbarani Ideo nos Petrus deo auxiliante dux veneticorum filio . . . domino Petro duci Candiano una pariter cum itemque duce filio meo cum successoribus nostris ab hodie damus tradimus atque concedimus tibi Martino filio Dominico Cancani et ab heredibus ac proheredibus posterisque vestris pro futurum possidendi hoc est una sallina de illas quas ellevastis in predicta pallude et terrenas palacii nostri totas ipsas sallinas uno corpore coniunctas ab uno latere, in alio in Felice da Molino et alio in Marino fratri suo simul jaglaciones et transiaglaciones suas et porciones de terrenas suas juxtas istas tuas sallinas una cum introitos et exitos suos et vias suas sicut ad nos *ceteros* pertinentibus tibi ut secundum vestram promissionem quantum cum consortibus de ipso fundamento nobis et in nostro palacio scribere fecistis et eam observantes et adimplentes ab hac die in Dei nomine ipsas sallinas habeas teneas possideas jure domi[illegible]oque tuo in perpetuum vindices ad que defendas tuisque heredibus ac pro seu posteris relinquas habendi tenendi vendendi donandi commutandi vel quia quid vobis placuerit faciendi nullo tibi homine contradicente salvo censo ad *en* . . . nostro palacio id est pro uno quoque rotante anno sel modio uno pro una quaque sallina quando levaveris de eas usque ad decem modias de salle et si minus de decem modias per annum levaveris tunc tres dies pro ipsa sale censum in nostro palacio dare debeas ipsum predictum censum salvum et cunctam in tuo capite secundum ipsam promissionem per solvere debeas. Quum in legibus caute preceptum est ut cum semel traditum fuerit vel donatum nullo modo revocetur. Et si venundaveris ipsas sallinas quintellum sit salvum in nostro palacio. Veruntatem placuit nobis ut si ipsas sallinas ad venundadum venerit et de tua prole non fuerit qui eas comparare non possit non debeatis ea in extranea persona venundare nisi in nostro palacio.

Si noster palacius tantum precium dare noluerit illum in tempore sicut ipsas sallinas apreciatas fuerit. Quod si noster palacius emere noluerit tunc potestatem habeatis ipsas sallinas venundare cui volueritis salvo quintello et censo de nostro palacio. Et damus vobis licentiam tollendi tetram de terrenis de nostro palacio et loto de palude de nostro palacio ad conciandum et restorandum ipsum fondamentum sallinarum tantum hec omnia ut supra legitur cum accessus et egressus et vias et junctorios suos et jaglaciones suas et omnia ad se pertinentibus ita unus ab alio viam non contradicatis non in eundo neque redeundo. Quod si quocumque tempore contra hanc cartam ire temptaverimus nos autem nostris successoribus et aliquid vobis sub traere voluerimus et adimplente vos promissionem vestram et ab omnibus hominibus vos defensare noluerimus aut non potuerimus qui

vos de infrascripta re expellere voluerit ex parte vel ex totum aut contra hanc cartam ire temptaverimus tunc componere promitto cum meis successoribus tibi et tuis heredibus auro obrizo libra una. Et promittimus vobis cum nostris successoribus conciare nostras porciones de aggeres omnique tempus quando opus fuerit quod si noluerimus et dagnum pro hac vobis ad creverit componere debeamus vobis argenti libra una et hec carta maneat in sua firmitate.

(Arch. della Fabbrica di S. M. e Donato di Murano ; copia del sec. XIV.)

Documents C — INVENTARÎ

I

1300 aprile (?)

Res que portaverunt Ambaxatores qui iverunt ad Regem K/arolum/.

Cope ij . con pe dorate	M/arca/iiij . unze j . scarsa
Cope xij . piane	M^{a} vij . unze iiij
scudele xx . gramde	M^{a} xx
taieri ij . gramdi	M^{a} iiij . unze iij
Sasore xx . pizin	M^{a} viij . unze j . scarsa
cusleri x . dargento blanchi	Unze x . quarta j ·/.
cusleri x . endorati	Unze vj . quarta iij ·/.

Suma peia questo argento M^{a} xlvi . unze ij . quarta j.

Pesa xx cusler darzento unze xij . quarta j.

Item pesa iiij taieri darzento M^{a} viij . unze ij ·/.

Item cope ij luna coverclata e laltra ceza (senza) coverclo pesa M^{a} iiij . quarta v.

Item pesa cope x plane M^{a} vi . quarta j ·/.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Libri Commemoriali, 1, c. 2.)

II

1308

Hec sunt res invente per magistrum Paganinum quas misit potestas Laureti millesimo trigentesimo octavo die xx octubris vii^{e} indicionis.

Primo in una valixia :

Item serabulam j.
Item incerulam j.
Item epithogium j . virgulatum.
Item tunicas ij . de saia nigra.

Item peciam j . saie grise circha brachia xi.
Item agnelinam j . cum manegotis.
Item armutias ij . de nocte.
Item par j . zocolorum.
Item par j . sutelarium.
Item potem (sic) j . elefanti.
Item infulam j . de nocte.

In uno sacho :

Item celvereras ij.
Item par j . cirothecarum de maia.
Item epithogium j . floratum pelis.
Item epithogium j . viridi disfloratum.
Item tapedum j.
Item galerium j.

Item in uno cofano :

Item tovaliam j . a manu.
Item par j . mutandarum.
Item facolos ij . a capite.
Item ephitogium j . de saia sanguinea floratum cendati.
Item mensales ij . a tabula.
Item linteamina ij.
Item sachum j . cum seda de vetis.

In altero cofano :

Item onerium j.
Item mensale j . a tabula.
Item coltram j . bocarani.
Item copam j . maseri.
Item raminos ij.
Item caputeum j . scarlati et blavi.
Item linteamina ij . cum capitibus virgulatis.
Item facolum j.
Item tovaliaj.
Item floraduram j . onerij.
Item bragerium j.
Item soldos xv . denariorum bononiensium quos habet cancelarius.
Item candelas xxxi de cera.
Item par j . scapinorum.
Item caseos vj.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Commem. i, c. 134.)

III

1311

Lan MCCCXJ . mecredi a xviiij jors de may . Ge jaques de conroi escuiers monsignor charle frere du roi de france baillai a miquel albert de la contrade de sante vide . le clef de case morisin devant saint angle en le remanant du forniment des gallees monsignor de sus dict est cest a dire de v . galees et de un loing que sunt derier saint gregor a venise et les parties don dit remanant dou forniment sont celes quil sensuit.

baillais audit miquel rimes condist artimons v̊ . LVI . Item remes tersarols iii̊ . viij . Item rimes dou loinc LXiij . Item remes rous CL . Item arbres vj . Item preses dantenes XI . Item remes xiij . Item scales v . Item rampegon de fer j . Item taulef de roure que sont in met la sale xiij . Item tailes et ragles de superche oultre celes qui sont en la cambre per forniment LXXX . Item chevron de fraine L . Item ligname que est labore de rimes por pendre darbalestres et sobrensegnes quant mess. p. fu a saint agostin . Item lances longes que bone que mouvaisses CX . Item arbalestres que rotes que saines LX . bandres LX . Item baines de fer vi . Item manece de nur iij . Item contone de fer ij . Item colare roin de fer xiij . Item vans de place ij . Item baillai au dit michel en une cambre sur canal ligname dalbede et dontes fomer banc pie de banc balestrere et autre lignam que besogne es galies . Item stropi CCL . Item lancon petit iii̊ . iiij̊ . Item elecrabres de sus sovre ast dalbede vj . Item en le dite cambre che veron de france v . Item aches viij . Item dans CXXX . Item chapias de fer vij . Item escus que bons que mauvaises vij . Item en le cambre de sous la cambre haunt sont ais dalbede et autre ligname . Item barili x . Item masteli vj . Item ferali viiij . Item pique de fer xij - Item peles de fer iij . Item le fust dun petit engin fare de rimes . Item pirie ij . Item quripial et autre sarte bone que peut pesser circa libre iii̊j . Item rampegon evastade iiij . Item elune des ij cambre ou estoit la sarthe si sont demores en j . mont toutes les capelles en anellees de sarte que sunt besogne pour v . galles et un loing.

Toutes les chosses de sus deites je jaques de cauroi laisai au dit michel alberth ela case desus dite et de la dite casse li baillay la clef lan et le ior de sus dit . et ai du dit michel itel escrit . fait de sa main et seele de son seel et iaimis por plus grant verite mon seel en ceste escrit et ne veull que nesune chose se vende au comun de venise . tant que iaie parle a monsignor mess . karle . ne a autre persone et iusques adont quele dit michel . ait commandament dou dit monsignor mess. karle . ou letre escrite de ma main.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Commem. II, c. 52 tergo.)

IV

1327

Millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo septimo . Indicione decima, die xx° Marcij.

Infrascripta sunt mercimonia et res Venetorum existencia in navi Venetorum cuius est patronus Marinus Longo de Veneciis, capta per subditos Regios. Que mercimonia et res liquido esse Venetorum infrascriptorum constat, tam per dictum et scripturam ipsorum quorum sunt, quam per quaternos et sacramentum illorum, qui vendiderunt ipsa, quam etiam per libros et quaternos officialium diversorum comunis Veneciarum quibus de dictis rebus in Veneciis, dacium est solutum. Que omnia et singula in favorem et subsidium veritatis licet expediens non foret cum alias sint clare ostensa ad cautelam tamen inferius seriosius denotantur.

In primis namque sunt balle duodecim de matarellis que sunt brachia $\overset{\text{M}}{\text{vi}}$. $\overset{\text{c}}{\text{iii}}$. LXX viri providi ser Nicolai Zaparino et sociorum de Veneciis, quorum partem ut constat per quaternos Comunis emit ipse Nicolaus ab Henrico Amadey . et partem ab Henrico de Sanzemberg in Veneciis in fontico die xv . julij proxime preteriti, et partem die penultimo dicti mensis a Laurencio de Sanzemberg, et partem die v septembris proxime ellapsi a Nicolao de Sancemborg, quorum preciuma scendit computatis brachiis $\overset{\text{c}}{\text{ij}}$. LXXV . canevacie pro vultura et alijs expensis in summa librarum M . $\overset{\text{c}}{\text{iiij}}$. xxviiij soldorum xv . ad grossos.

Item libre $\overset{\text{M}}{\text{xxiiij}}$. XLiiij.^{or} ferri in virgis M $\overset{\text{c}}{\text{iij}}$. xxxiiij^{or} icolai prefati, et sociorum, quod sicut constat, emit a Nicoleto sapa de Veneciis, die xxviij augusti proxime preteriti, cuius precium in navi onerati est librarum $\overset{\text{c}}{\text{viij}}$. iiij.^{or} soldorum vij . ad grossos.

Item libre $\overset{\text{M}}{\text{iij}}$. xvj . Raminis in peciis $\overset{\text{c}}{\text{v}}$. xxxvj . Nicolai predicti et sociorum quod emit ut constat a viro nobili ser Paulo Signolo, die III° septembris proxime ellapsi, cuius precium est in navi onerati librarum $\overset{\text{c}}{\text{iiii}}$. XLiiij.^{or} soldorum xij . ad grossos . quod quidem Ramen est in barilis viiij.

Item libre viiij . xx . stagni in fassiis iiii^{or} Nicolai sepedicti et sociorum quod emit a Marco Acotanto de Veneciis, die xxviij . Augusti proxime preteriti, cuius precium est in navi onerati librarum C . xx . soldorum viiij . denariorum iiij.^{or} ad grossos.

Item libre $\overset{\text{M}}{\text{ij}}$. C XLvij . Raminis in peciis $\overset{\text{c}}{\text{iij}}$. LXV . in barilis viij . Nicolai antedicti et sociorum predictorum quod emit ut constat a ser Nicoleto Zucholo de Veneciis, die VI septembris proxime preteriti cuius precium est in navi positi cum expensis librarum iij . xv . soldorum xvij . ad grossos.

Item brachia m̄ ij . c . xxvij . de matarellis in ballis iiij.or Nicolai et sociorum predictorum quod emit die v septembris predicti, a Corado de Neustat sicut constat cuius precium est cum expensis in navi positi librarum c̄ iiij . lxxvij : soldorum xviiij . ad grossos.

Summa ergo totum predictum predictorum Nicolai et sociorum librarum m̄ iij . c̄ v . lxxxxiiij.or soldorum viiij . denariorum x . ad grossos.

Et est sciendum quod omnia mercimonia supradicta dictus Nicolaus et socii mittebant Messanam in manibus Mazie Delarama Veneti degentis ibidem tamquam in manibus procuratoris eorum.

Preterea habuerunt et oneraverunt in navi predicta, Nicolaus et Petrus Michael et Marcus petenarius veneti ballam unam pannorum iiii. de borsella, quos emerunt a Stefano de Pozo veneto, die xiiij . augusti predicti, et involuti fuerunt in una pecia pani matarelli, quorum precium est librarum xviij . soldorum xiij . denariorum viij . grossorum.

Item habuerunt prescripti tres in navi prefata libras m . xxiiij.or Raminis in virgis in barillis tribus, quod emerunt ut constat a prescripto Nicolao Zucholo, die ij° septembris suprascripti . Item libras c̄ iiij . vij . Raminis in folia in barili uno quod emerunt a Leonardo a bacilli Veneto die xj° septembris prescripti cuius tocius Raminis precium est librarum xij . soldorum j . grossorum, quod quidem Ramen Tunisium ducebatur que omnia silicet panni et ramen cum dicta navi similiter cum aliis mercibus supradictis et infradicendis, fuerunt et sunt per subditos Regios ut premittitur arrestata in damnum et iacturam non modicum et gravamen Venetorum omnium predictorum et infrascriptorum.

Item fuerunt onerati in dicta navi planconi c̄ iiij . lxxxvj . virorum nobilium ser Marini Faletro et ser Frederici Dandulo . virorum providorum Nicolai Zaparini et sociorum predictorum, et nomine eorumdem, quorum quidem planconorum c̄ iiij . mittebant Symoni Andree degenti Panormi ad omne risicum et fortunam ipsorum Venetorum, licet pecuniam ipsorum seu precium quod convenerant ipsi Veneti in Veneciis, nomine vendicionis cum dicto Symone Andrea, vel cum alio nomine ipsius Symonis in Veneciis receperunt Veneti prelibati ante missionem seu extractionem dicti lignaminis de certa quantitate casei dicti Symonis quod in Veneciis erat tunc, quod per modum barati loco solucionis dicti lignaminis, sicut in talibus more mercatorio fieri consuevit receperunt et precium lignaminis prefati secundum baratum mercati prefati fuit unzias xxx quodlibet centenarium dictorum planconorum, sicut hec omnia clare constant, unde semper fuerunt et sunt dicti planconi venetorum predictorum, quousque in Panormo ipsos libere non consignarint Symoni antedicto secundum pactum et condictionem prescriptam, qui planconi similiter cum dicta navi sunt per subditos regios arrestati, et sic si perderentur, vel perirent dicti planconi nostris Venetis et non alicui alij deperirent.

Item onerate fuerunt merces et res infrascripte virorum nobilium

Gabrielis, Andree ed Andrioli Pisani Venetorum sicut clare constat super navi scripta supra.

In primis videlicet brachia viiij . lxj . ·/. . de matarellis in peçiis xxvij . quas emerunt prout liquet die penultimo augusti predicti a Conrado de Salcemberg . Item brachia m . vfi . lxvj . de matarellis in peciis xxviij . empta per predictos die prefato a Rigo de Sanzemborg . Item brachia ij . c . lxxvij . de matarellis in peciis xxxiij . empta die xxij° . dicti mensis per predictos Venetos a Jacobo de Verire . Item brachia ij . vj . xxij . de grisis Mutine in peçiis xliij . empta die xxvij . augusti prefati a Petro de Rozio . Quam quidem pannorum quantitatem eorum ipsi Veneti mittebant Messanam viro provido Iohanni Coppo de Veneciis mercatori et factori eorum in hac parte, sicut etiam eorum juramento clare constat . Item merces infrascripte in pluribus cassis silicet groppi cc . liij . accuum diversarum manerierum . Item milliaria xxvij . viij . anulorum . Item milliaria xv . clavorum a cassella . Item ligatium unum de corallis . Item duodene centum de paternostris de cristallo in uno ligacio . Item duodene cclx . cultellorum . Item fasij xx . fillorum de ferro . Item Rime cartarum cxiij . Item milliaria xij . de siblotis . Item zenzeli xviij . Raminis . Item dezedali vi . c . Item sacum unum peciarum de cristallo . Item milliaria xxx . brochetarum . Item duodene viij . candellariorum . Item vella marchisana iij . v . Item duodene xiij . streglarum . Item milliaria cc . lx . de paternostris . Item duodene speculorum . iij ·/. Item milliaria xv . accuum, et accus vi . Quas omnes merces dictorum nobilium de ca Pisani dicti nobiles cum dicta navi mittebant ut supradictum est.

Item fuerunt onerata super navi sepedicta nomine Filippi de la Rama nostri Veneti licet Mesane conversetur et habitet libre xvj . c . x . ferri, quod emit prout constat in Veneciis, die xxiij . augusti iam dicti a Christoforo Sapa Veneto venditore ferri.

Item onerate fuerunt super navi iam dicta, milliaria iiij . et libre v . l . ferri, providi viri Iohannis Cupo Veneti que dicto Iohanni mittebat Paulus Bereta Venetus in Messana, ut habetur clare per testimonium et sacramentum utriusque, quod ferrum emit in Veneciis, sicut constat dictus Paulus a Nicolao Bono de Veneciis mercatore ferri pro soldis xx v ·/. grossorum quodlibet milliarium, quod per totum ascendit, computatis grossis x . pro naulo pro quolibet milliario summam librarum v . soldorum xviiij . denariorum x . grossorum . Quod quidem totum ferrum fuit et est in virgis cc . lxiiij . in ligaciis xxxiij.

Que omnia supradicta fuerunt similiter per subditos regios arrestata et intromissa indebite detinentur.

(Arch. di Stato in Venezia — Commemoriale III, c. 23.)

V

INFRASCRIPTE SUNT RES, QUE SUNT IN DOMO MEI CONSTANTINI, ET PRIMO IN CAPSA CONVENTUS FRATRUM PREDICATORUM DE TARVISIO.

In primis cusmeli	duo
Item cultre albe	tres
Item panni arasura	quatuor
Item zalonum blavum	unum
Item linçolum	unum
Item Tascheta	una
Item decretus	unus

In barilli uno.

In primis prima pars prime Sume sancti Tome.
Item prima pars secunde eiusdem.
Item secunda secunde eiusdem.
Item Tercia pars eiusdem.
Item concordancie blibie.
Item de similitudinibus et exemplis.
Item dicta Sancti Thome super quibusdam libris Ar. (Aristotilis).
Item Istorie passionis et quidam sermones.
Item sermones de sanctis secundum fratrem Iacobum de Losano.
Item sermones de Dominicis et de sanctis in alio volumine.
Item de auctoritatibus sanctorum et quedam cronicha.
Item super simbolum fidei et quidam sermones.
Item quidam sermones de dominicis et de sanctis.
Item Sermones de dominicis secundum fratrem Dominicum de Varagine.
Item Enchandion sancti Augustini.
Item de exemplis naturalibus et moralibus.
Item pantheon.
Item bestiarium.
Item extraciones multarum epistolarum Geromini.
Item sermones per totum annum.
Item de indulgentijs concessis ordini predicatorum.
Item postille et moralitates secundum fratrem Thomam anglicum.
Item miracula de beata virgine.
Item vaticinium Geremie.
Item questiones litterales super libris de anima.
Item privilegia concessa ordini predicatorum.
Item sermones de sanctis secundum fratrem Michaelem de Firmo.
Item Ysac de vita contemplativa.
Item Secretum Secretorum Aristotilis.
Item dialogus Ugonis de Sancto Vitore de anima.

Item dyalogus beati Gregorij in bombucino.
Item capitula feriarum et dominicarum sermonum de quadragesima.
Item sermones secundum fratrem Antonium de Parma.
Item quartus Sententiarum eiusdem.
Item extraciones Senece in bombucino.
Item soliloquiorum sancti Ysidori.
Item de abstinencia et quidem sermones.
Item tabulla super decretales.
Item tabula super tractatu de avibus.
Item suma de canibus.
Item proverbia Petri Alphonci, et multorum philosophorum.
Item sermones fratris Benedicti.
Item ystoria Apolonij Tirij.
Item naturalia fratris Alberti in bombucino.
Item unus quaternus de experimentis in bombucino.
Item oratio Origenis et tractatus auctoritatum sanctorum.
Item certe collaciones de dominicis et feris in bombucino.
Item excepta de Svetonio de duodecim thesauris in bombucino.
Item tabulla super dicta beati Tome.
Item unum parium tabullarum.

In altero barili.

In primis tabulla super quarto sententiarum sancti Tome.
Item questiones de veritate.
Item breviarium unum cum martirologio.
Item secundus sententiarum Sancti Tome.
Item sermones dominicales.
Item unum breviarium.
Item unum misale.
Item secunda secunde sancti Tome.
Item Suma Monaldi.
Item metaphisica Aristotilis.
Item sermones dominicales fratris Jacobi de Voragine.
Item Tractatus de Corpore Christi.
Item Suma magistri Brocardi theotonici.
Item beati Gregorij Nisenij Episcopi, de homine.
Item sermones quadragesimales fratris Jacobi de Varagine.
Item primus sententiarum sancti Tome.
Item prima secundi sancte Tome.
Item liber phisicorum cum alijs sex Ar. (Aristotilis).
Item registrum veritatis maioris sume confessorum.
Item unum breviarium.
Item de veritate chatolice fidei sancti Tome.
Item liber qui incipit verba Ylarij.

Item liber decimus septimus moralium.
Item tabulla Sume abreviate.
Item capitula in librum primum dialogorum.
Item sermones in Jeiunio.
Item sententia super librum phisicorum beati Tome.
Item sermones dominicales fratris Jacobi de Varagine.
Item scriptum sancti Thome super librum de anima Ar. (Aristotilis).
Item extraciones de libro de proprietatibus rerum.
Item sancti Thome super methaphisica Ar. (Aristotilis).
Item Evangelia exposita secundum beatum Thomam.
Item certe legende Sanctorum.
Item metaphisica Ar. (Aristotilis).
Item legende fratris Jacobi de Varagine usque de sancto Heusebio.
Item opus morale per exempla avium, animalium et pisium.
Item collaciones sanctorum in bombucino.
Item sancti Thome super libro de anima.
Item unus quaternus in bombucino, qui incipit: lux vera.
Item una suma Brochardi.
Item liber sententiarum pro parte.
Item unus quaternus in bombucino qui incipit: hec sunt generationes.
Item unus quaternus in bombucino, qui incipit: notabilia sanctorum.
Item unus quaternus in bombucino, qui incipit: ad summum pontificem.
Item tres quaternos de colacionibus.

Infrascripti libri inventi fuerunt in uno barilli,
videlicet libri.

de potentia Dei.
de dictamine.
de quatuor virtutibus.
declamaciones Senece.
Cronica fratris Martini.
Breviarium.
de gestis Apolonij magni principis.
de virtutibus herbarum.
de tabulla per alfabetum super dictis sancti Thome.
de Beata vita.
de quatuor virtutibus.
de postilla super epistola beati Paoli ad hebreos.
de Sermonibus.
de conservanda sanitate.
de virtutibus et vitijs.
de sermonibus de temporibus.
de tabulla per alphabetum.

de sermonibus.
de arte veteri.
de sermonibus.
de Miraculis Virginis.
de sermonibus . xl.
de sermonibus de temporibus.
super libro ethicorum.
de lucidario.
de prologo dialogorum Sancti Augustini.
de Anibale.
de colacionibus pro comunione.
de kalendario.
de racione super libro posteriorum.
de sermonibus.
de sermonibus.
quaterni.
de Anibale.
de colacionibus sanctorum.
de glosis Thome super libro posteriorum.
et super libro physicorum de discrecione mundi.
de falacijs beati Tome.
de anima.
de exposicione sancti Thome.
de exposicione beati Thome super Matheum.
de sermonibus in papiro.
de sermonibus super libro posteriorum sancti Thome.
Item certi alij quaterni.
Item tres cusini.

Item in una capsa:

In primis quatuor calices et quatuor patene de argento.
Item una ancona in una capsella de ligno.
Item reliquie in uno cristallo de gloriosa Virgine Maria.
Item una chaseta de avolio cum reliquiis intus.
Item una cuppa de masero cum paternostris ed una cruce de cristalo.
Item una ymago sancte Marie de alabastro.
Item unum busolum cum certis reliquijs intus.
Item unus anullus de argento cum duabus corniolis.
Item una ymago Christi de alabastro.
Item unum paramentum fulcitum cum una camisia.
Item unum camixum cum omnibus suis pendicijs excepta planeta.
Item unum paramentum fulcitum.
Item anchoneta parva.
Item una anchonetta parva.
Item duo busoleta.

Item quatuor corporalia.
Item certa privilegia in uno sacheto de corio.
Item duo manutergia.
Item undecim fazoli a capite.
Item unum biretum de sirico.
Item unum sachetum cum argento intus.

In una capsa de peço :

In primis tres cultre albe.
Item tria paria linteaminum de lana.
Item unum par linteaminum de bambaxio.
Item unum camexum sine gramitis.
Item duo manutergia.
Item sex camisiae.
Item una camixia descusita.
Item due mutande.
Item due sachete.
Item unus pannus laboratus de lino.
Item novem covertelle.
Item certe pecie da naso.
Item certa tella de lino.
Item unus liber Ysiodori.
Item certi quaterni et scripture.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Commemoriale v, c. 110.)

VI

1362, die xvi° Januarii (more veneto)

Nota rerum inventarum in monasterio Sancti Georgij maioris

Infrascripte sunt res que invente fuerunt in monasterio sancti Georgij maioris de Venecijs, per nos Thomam de Bonincontro, et Nicolaum de Conto notarios ducalis aule, qui de mandato dominij missi fuimus ad dictum locum die suprascripta.

In primis invenimus Calices argenteos fulcitos vij . inter magnos et Comunales.

Item Turibulum unum magnum de marchis circha v et unum Comunale.

Item Cruces argentheas comunales tres, una quarum est smaldata, et minor earum habet de ligno crucis.

Item fustos ij eburneos ab episcopo.

Item paramenta a sacerdote fulcita vij bona.

Item paramenta duo ab abbate pulcra, et maxime planetas de sirico et auro laboratas.

Item candelabra duo cristalina.

Item anchonam unam de ligno auratam cum figura sancti Georgij.

Item tapeta iij.

Item plevialia vetera xij.

Item paramenta ab altare xiiij de pannis siricis inter que est unum novum.

Item mantilia viij manutergia viij ab altare.

Item cossinellos ab altare v inter magnos et parvos.

Item candelabra magna erea stantia circha altare magnum iiij^{or}.

Item cortinas stantes circha dictum altare v.

Item candelabra magna erea ad altare sancti Stefani quatuor.

Item candelabra duo magna erea ad altare sancte Marie.

Item brachium sancti Georgij ornatum de argento cum uno anullo auri cum uno pulcro et magno ballassio in digito, solum in una cassa sua consueta.

Item in una alia capsa altari Sancti Cosme et Damiani, Reliquias Sancti Cosme et Damiani, videlicet petia xx et Sancti Panthaleonis et Sancte Barbare ossa v . et cassas duas plumbeas parvas cum reliquijs et schatulam unam cum alijs Reliquijs.

Item in una alia capsa altaris Sancti Jacobi, testam Sancti Jacobi, cum multis alijs Reliquijs.

Item in una alia capsa altaris Sancti Pauli Martiris, corpus totum integrum Sancti Pauli.

Item in altare Sancti Heustachij, totum corpus integrum Sancti Heustachij.

Item in altare Sancti Cosme, Corpus Sancti Cosme confessoris, et unum lapidem Sancti Stephani cum pluribus alijs Reliquijs.

Item in uno alio altare Capud Sancti Felicis confessoris et brachium Sancte Lucie cum tota manu.

Item omnia altaria ecclesie dicti loci bene fulcita sicut decet temporibus feriatis.

Item par unum organorum in dicta Ecclesia.

Item librum unum intitulatum Sinonima et librum confessionum beati Augustini super Cantica Canticorum scriptum de littera antiqua.

Item antiphonarium unum, scriptum de littera antiqua.

Item librum unum, intitulatum Regule patrum scriptum de littera antiqua.

Item librum unum intitulatum Corector et medicus scriptum de littera antiqua.

Item librum unum intitulatum de vita Sanctorum scriptum de littera antiqua.

Item librum unum Apocalisis scriptum de littera antiqua.

Item librum unum novum sermonum tam Evangeliorum dominicalium quam ferialium scriptum de littera cursiva.

Item librum unum sermonum pulcrum scriptum de littera moderna.

Item Breviarium unum vetus.

Item Messale unum pulcrum scriptum de littera moderna bona, qui

incipit, dominica prima de adventu domini in litteris rubeis, et finit, munera divina, fulcitum corio viride.

Item Messale unum cum corio viride quod incipit in prima carta per omnia secula seculorum amen, et finit, fac nos quesumus Domine.

Item Messale unum fulcitum de corio rubeo cum clavis scriptum de littera moderna, incipientem in prima carta, Deus qui nobis anima sanctorum Virginum, et finit, Introytus in honore Virginis Marie.

Item Messale unum fulcitum de corio rubeo, incipientem in prima carta Credo in unum Deum, et finit in ultima, Suscipe munera quesumus Domine.

Item librum unum orationum fulcitum de corio albo cum clavis, incipientem in prima carta A. B. C. D. in ultima finit, nota quod in festo nec per octavam officium beate Marie Virginis.

Item librum unum antiquum incipientem Epistola a paschale, et finit, Deus qui beate Virginis Marie.

Item librum unum fulcitum de corio nigro qui incipit in prima carta, beatus qui non abijt in consilio Impiorum, et finit, Fides catolica quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit salvus esse non poterit.

Item librum unum de trinitate qui incipit, domino glorioso Carolo Imperatori, et finit occurrerunt ei fratres.

Item librum unum de littera antiqua qui incipit, de promissione Dei, et finit, post hanc vitam beatissimus.

Item librum unum Ezechielis de corio rubeo.

Item librum unum sermonum cum corio viride.

Item librum unum sermonum dominicalium venerabilis fratris Luce cum corio nigro.

Item librum unum cum corio albo prefatii Cassiani abbatis super instituta monachorum.

Item librum unum de ordine abbatum et clericorum.

Item librum unum cum corio rubeo de sancta Trinitate, editum a quodam Boemio Romanorum consule.

Item librum unum Evangelliorum.

Item antifonarium unum magnum antiquum et pulcrum cum corio albo.

Item librum unum cum corio albo genesis magnum scriptum de littera antiqua.

Item librum unum magnum exposicionum Evangeliorum secundum Matheum.

Item librum unum magnum de littera antiqua beati Gregorij urbis Rome qui incipit in prima carta, de litteris rubeis in Christi nomine, prologus beati Gregorij.

Item librum unum magnum cum corio nigro et cum clavis silicet Ysaye profete de littera antiqua.

Item librum unum magnum beate urbis Rome cum corio nigro.

Item Antifonarium unum de littera antiqua incipientem in prima carta vel . . . cum danaberis et finientem salve regina, cum corio albo.

Item librum unum copertum de corio piloso magnum qui vocatur antifonarium noturnum, super salmos.

Item librum unum copertum de corio nigro cum clavis quadratis qui vocatur Lecunale qui incipit in prima carta, in nomine domini amen, et finit in illa hora est nostri exitus semper intuenda.

Item librum unum copertum de corio nigro cum clavis qui vocatur legendarius qui incipit in prima carta de littera rubea dominica pasque, sermo Sancti Augustini, finit non solvitur ergo lex.

Item legendarium unum de corio nigro cum clavis incipientem de litteris rubeis, incipit liber lectionum, et finit, Nato in Bethelem, domino salvatore.

Item bibiam unam in magno volumine copertum de corio nigro cum clavis, incipientem Trinitas, et finientem Deus autem pacis.

Item librum unum copertum de corio albo cum clavis intitulatum Martirologium incipientem in prima carta de litteris rubeis, incipit martirologium, et finientem in ultima si quis autem hoc attentare presumserit.

Item unum antifonarium de corio albo fulcito cum clavis qui incipit, ego plantavi, appollo rigavit, et finit o doctor optum (sic) Ecclesie sancte.

Item salterium unum cum corio albo qui incipit in prima carta kallandarium, et finit in ultima verbum superbium prodiens.

Item oracionale unum cum corio albo cum clavis qui incipit in prima carta fratres exeuntes de cochina et finit in ultima credo in unum Deum.

Item antiphonarios duos.

Item linarium unum.

Item unum alium salterium.

Item ordinarium unum.

Item salterium unum romanum.

Item responsatorium unum choopertum de corio albo cum clavis quadratis qui incipit in prima carta de litteris rubeis in commemoracione Beate Marie Virginis, et finit benedicamus Domino.

Item libros duos graduales pulcros et magnos.

Item Evangelistarium unum pulcrum cum corio rubeo.

Item passionarium unum magnum cum corio albo et cum clavis qui incipit in prima carta, Incipit vita Sancti Marciliani.

Item alium passionarium cum corio nigro bonum et pulcrum incipiens de litteris rubeis vegilia Epifanie.

Item librum unum sermonum antiquum sine corio qui incipit in prima carta sabato sancto sermo beati Geronimi.

Item librum unum cum corio albo et clavis qui vocatur liber exposicionum evangeliorum incipientem in prima carta, in dominico die sancto pasce, et finit erat quidam archipresbiter.

Item epistolarium unum bonum et pulcrum cum corio rubeo.

Item messale unum novum et pulcrum choopertum de corio rubeo incipiens per kallandarium, et finiens, Deus qui beatum Gerardum.

Item antiphonarium unum comune sine tabulelis.

Item librum qui vocatur Malachi idest librum regum quartum qui incipit crescente vero fidelium numero, et finit, Explicit Malachiia liber regum quartus.

Item unum aliud messale cum panno sirico laborato ad aurum.

Item circa duodecim libros parvi voluminis veteris et parvi valoris in uno armario sagrastie.

(Arch. di Stato in Venezia — Commemoriale VII, c. 15.)

VII

INVENTARÎ DELLE COSE LASCIATE DAL DOGE FRANCESCO DANDOLO (m. 1339).

In nomine Dei eterni amen. Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo primo mense Augusti die undecimo intrante indicione nona Rivoalti.

Cum nobiles Viri domini Bertuzius de Canale Paulus Beligno, et Nicoletus Sanuto, iudices petitionum ex suo officio et iusticia ad peticionem et querimoniam infrascripti Johannis Dandulo filii quondam nobilis Viri domini Gratoni Dandulo olim filii clare memorie domini domini Francisci Dandulo quondam Veneciarum Dalmacie, atque Chroacie ducis nec non dominatoris quarte partis et dimidie tocius Imperii Romanie preciperent seu precepissent Nobis infrascriptis Ysabete Dandulo relicte et Nicolao Contareno quondam cognato et nunc ambobus commissariis suprascripti domini Francisci Dandulo quondam ducis veneciarum ut de omnibus rebus et bonis dicte commissarie que apud nos et ad quemlibet Nostrum sunt in presenti faceremus seu fieri faciemus inventarii cartam ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Volentes igitur sequi per omnia mandatum dictorum dominorum Judicum peticionum, hanc inventarii cartam duximus faciendum per virtutem et potestatem unius testamenti carte complete et roborate manu Nicolay dicti Pistorini ducatus veneciarum cancellarii et notarii rogate scripte anno Incarnationis domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo trecentesimo trigesimo nono Indicione octava die martis vigesimo sexto octubris Rivoalti, Quod fieri fecit Illustris dominus Franciscus Dandulo Dei gracia Veneciarum Dalmacie atque Chroacie dux dominus quarte partis et dimidie tocius Imperii Romanie, In quo imprimis equidem suos fidey commissarios constituit et esse voluit nobilem coniugem suam dominam Isabetam ducissam et nobiles viros dominum Andream Michaelem comitem arbensem carissimum nepotem suum, et dominum Nicolaum Contarenum cognatum suum, ut secundum et infra et inter alia sic legitur in eodem. Omnia autem alia bona nostra mobilia et immobilia dimittimus et esse volumus sub gubernatione et dispositione dicte domine ducisse coniugis nostre In vita sua Ita videlicet quod de fructibus et proventibus ipsorum in vita sua ut predicitur possit disponere ordinare et facere tam pro victu suo honorabili quam pro victu et alimenti infrascriptis nepotis

nostri filii naturalis quondam Gratoni fillii nostri. Quem nepotem nostrum cum ipsa consorte nostra esse et manere volumus quam eciam pro anima nostra et filii nostri predicti et alliorum propinquorum nostrorum sicut sue libuerit voluntati. Cui etiam consorti nostre ducisse relinquimus libere ultra suam doctem, et ultra id quod sibi per cartam tenemus omnes suos pannos tam lineos quam laneos quam etiam cuiuslibet alterius speciei et res et jocalia tam de auro quam de argento ordinatas pro suo usu, seu quas pro suo usu haberet ut de ipsis possit facere suam omnimodam voluntatem. Et liceat ipsi domine ducisse vendere de bonis nostris mobilibus pro solvendo et satisfaciendo sibi de sua dote et de eo quod sibi tenemus per cartam, et pro satisfaciendis nostris debitis si qua forent. Ita tamen quod propterea et etiam de administratione sua nullatenus unquam teneatur reddere rationem, et iterum infra dedit preterea et contulit suprascriptis commissariis suis post obitum suum plenissimam virtutem et potestatem inquirendi, placitandi, respondendi, advocatores precepta et interdicta tollendi, legem petendi, sententias audiendi et consequendi, intromittendi atque excuciendi omnia sua bona et havere a cunctis suis debitoribus et a quibuscumque personis et apud quemcumque ea vel ex eis inveniri poterunt cum cartis et sine cartis per curiam et extra curiam et securitatis cartas et omnes alias cartas necessarias et quidquid aliud necesse fuerit faciendi et cetera ut in ea legitur. Et quia idem supradictus Nobilis Vir dominus Andreas Michael nunquam intromisit ad tempus specificatum in statuto dictam commissariam ipsius quondam dicti domini ducis, idcirco manifestum facimus Nos suprascripti — Ysabetta Dandulo relicta et Nicolaus Contareno quondam cognato et nunc ambo commissarii suprascripti domini Francisci Dandulo quondam ducis Veneciarum quod hec infrascripta sunt bona et res dicte commissarie apud nos inventa ad presens videlicet :

Imprimis octo lecti magni cum octo plumaciis de pignolato vergato. Item due traponte magne et due traponte parve de pignolato. Item una cultra de cendato torto vermeio. Item una cultra de cendato viridi torto. Item una cultra de cendato sanguineo torto. Item una cultra abinde zala et sanguinea cendati torti. Item una cultra de catasamito vermeio. Item due cultre de catasamito zalo. Item una cultra blanca de Zipro. Item due cultre albe veteres. Item duo lecti cum duobus plumaciis a familia. Item novem lecti a familia et traponte undecim de lana et capizalia undecim parva. Item duo clapi de samito vermeio qui erant in obsequio ipsius quondam domini ducis et domine ducisse in solempnitatibus. Item una cortina de peciis et due cortine abinde de cendato torto zalo et vermeio absque supralecto. Item una cortina de cendato viridi torto que sunt pro tribus faciebus in uno clapo. Item una cortina abinde cum celo, et unum cocholarium viride et vermeium abinde. Item sex clapi de cortinis de velesio zalis et vermeis. Item unum vexillum imperiale cum suo schiffo. Item duo paria linteaminum magna et nova. Item sex paria linteaminum a lecto magno. Item duo paria linteaminum a valise. Item duodecim

paria linteaminum a lecto magno. Item unum par linteaminum de velesio. Item unum clapus de mantilibus brachya quadraginta sex. Item triginta mantilia inter bona et vetera sive non bona. Item unum mantile magnum cum capitibus laboratis de seta. Item triginta toalie inter bonas et veteres. Item octo mantilia a credentia. Item una toalia cum capitibus de seta. Item unum mantile et una toalia nova cum capitibus de seta. Item quatuor toalie longe nove. Item tria mantilia nova. Item septem toalie nove que se tenent insimul. Item decem octo brachya de tella ad ponendum super pannum que se insimul tenent. Item unum fazolum magnum. Item quatuor tapeta magna pulcra. Item tria alia tapeta. Item tria tapeta quasi vetera. Item una carpeta francisca investita de tella viridi. Item unum zalon scachatum investitum de tella zala. Item una umbrela magna a bucentoro ab inde de panno sete et auri investita de tella zala pro buzentoro. Item unum felzum pro plato de panno veluto et de seta cum armis da cha Dandulo in circha investitum ab inde. Item sex banchalia francisca. Item quatuor banchalia abinde laborata in Veneciis. Item quatuor sclabine magne pro plato et barchis. Item una coraza alba cum vantis et gamberiis et una capela et una galea et unum par subtelarium de curaza et una maza de ferro. Item viginti alie coraze cum suis colariis et vantis precio soldorum triginta grossorum. Item decem capele et unum epitogium de ferro. Item octo panziere et quatuor colaria et due manize et quatuor vanti de maja. Item septem spate et unus cutellus a ferire. Item quatuor cutelli a tabula a manicis lefanti cum varetis de argento. Item quatuor alii cutelli a tabula a manicis nigris de bufalo cum varetis argenteis. Item due chonche magne de rame. Item quatuor bacilli magni. Item sex bacilli parvi. Item quindecim ramini inter magnos et parvos de latono. Item tria paria linteaminum a lecto quondam domine ducisse. Item duo paria linteaminum a lecto Zanini Dandulo. Item viginti paria linteaminum a familia vetera. Item quadraginta scuta. Item duo epitogia desfornita de panno cardinali que fuerunt et esse debuerunt pro usu quondam dicti domini ducis. Item quatuor tunice desfornite de panno cardinali. Item duo epitogia desfornita de panno scarlato. Item una tunica de sarza vermeia. Item unum epitogium et una tunica de panno scarlato desfornita incisa et non completa. Item octo brachia de panno cardinali. Item duo capuzia de panno cardinali inforata de varota. Item tria capuzia de panno scarlato inforata de varota. Item unum capuzium de panno scarlato et unum capuzium de panno cardinali inforata de cendato. Item duo capuzia de sarza vermeia investita de cendato. Item duo zambeloti de cendato vermeio, Item unum epitogium et una pelis de veluto vermeio inforata de varota a domina. Item una cappa de veluto vermeio et viridi inforata de varota a domina. Item unum suprasignum de catasamito ad arma da cha Dandulo inforatum de tella viridi. Item quinque bandiere de cendato ad arma da cha Dandulo et duo penella de cendato ad arma da cha Dandulo et una bandiera de tella ad arma da cha Dandulo. Item tres anchone. Item undecim coffani inferati

inter bonos et non bonos sive veteres. Item due arcelle de paredanis. Item unum coffanetum longum adopleriis. Item una cassella longa adopleriis. Item duo cassoni veteres. Item una cassella magna nova. Item una cassella magna a merchatore. Item unum banchum a tribus coltis. Item sex pilizoni de agnelina inter bonos et veteres ab homine. Item quatuor pilizoni de pelis leporinis ab homine. Item sex zube de bocharano que fuerunt pro usu quondam dicti domini ducis. Item alii panni et vestimenta et vestimenta (*sic*) vetera que portant sive deferunt in dorso femine in domo. Item viginti septem orieri investiti de tella alba. Item duo orieri de cendato vermeio cum gramitis de auro in medio. Item unus orier de veluto viridi cum gramitis auri in medio ad opera aquilarum. Item tres orieri de samito vermeio. Item duo orieri de camocha viridi. Item unus orier de camocha blavo. Item quinque orieri de panno de seta. Item duo statere cum uno blombiellcno. Item unus sachus et dimidius lino pleni. Item una pezia de pignolato. Item unus liber institute. Item unus liber si licet legende sanctorum. Item unus liber digestus. Item unus liber antiquus. Item unus liber Prosperi. Item unus liber dyalogorum sancti Gregorii. Item unus liber statutorum Veneciarum. Item unus liber Ysopi. Item unus liber cronice. Item unus liber Donati. Item unus quaternus statuti navium. Item alii quaterni cum duobus libris franciscis. Item unus liber decretalium. Item unus liber de expositione vocabulorum. Item unus liber blibie complete. Item unus liber fratris Thomaxii. Item unus liber Donati compositus per vulgare et latino. Item duo Boecii in uno quorum est poesia novella. Item unus liber epistole beati Eusebii. Item unus liber de doctrina. Item unus liber Flavii qui habet corium viride. Item unus libellus medicine. Item duo quaterni scripti in cartis de bergameno et unus alius quaternus de translacione corporis beati Stephani prothomartiris qualiter de Constantinopolim conductum seu translatum fuit Venecia. Item duo peteni de lefanto. Item due flimbaie sive pedes de auro cum perlis laboratis cum quatuor rochis pro utroque ipsorum pedum. Item una cappa parva de auro a domina. Item quatuor lebetes de bronzio. Item tres coldiere de rame. Item septem lebetes de petra. Item tria frissoria de rame. Item tres cochome de rame. Item duo spedi de ferro. Item quatuor patelle de rame. Item una caldiera magna de rame. Item tres catene ferree. Item sex cavedoni de ferro. Item tres cavedoni magni de ferro. Item due catene magne de ferro. Item uno spedo longus cum duobus pedibus de ferro. Item due alie coldiere de rame una magna et altera parva. Item quatuor lebetes magni de bronzio. Item duo lebetes de petra. Item duo frissoria unum magnum et alterum parvum de rame. Item duo trepie veteres de ferro. Item tres selle ab equis veteres. Item duo frena equorum. Item una masena de petra ad faciendum salsam. Item due cuppe de argento cum pedibus inauratis cum smaldis coopertis ad opera francisca. Item unum bochal de argento coopertum inauratum cum smaldis. Item quatuor choclearia de argento inaurata. Ita nonaginta

septem choclearia de argento alba. Item sex incisoria sive taieri de argento. Item octo scutelle parve de argento. Item octo scutelle magne de argento. Item octo napi de argento ad opera turchesca. Item due cuppe de argento una quarum est inaurata et altera non. Item una scatula de argento magna alba. Item una saliera de argento inaurata cooperta cum smaldis. Item duo pironi magni de argento inaurati. Item una caza de argento alesivio. Item unus botazellus de argento albus a teraqua. Item una cuppa de maserata cum pede argenti inaurata. Item una centura de argento sine capite furnita solummodo alcenzer. Item due spaliere a novicia fornite perlis et smaldis cum catenis de argento et cum smaldis inauratis. Item unus anulus aureus cum uno rubino. Item duo candelabria de argento inaurata cum pedibus laboratis ad leones. Item una trumbeta longa de argento. Item una scudeleta de argento pro cirio albo. Iste res sunt in manibus mei predicti Nicolay Contareno videlicet. Imprimis unus pirulus dambro da olire cum una flubaia de seta sanguinea. Item duo annuli auri parvi, unus quorum habet balassum vermilium a cantonis octo et alter sephyrum ab octo cantonis. Item unus annulus aureus ad arma da cha Dandulo ad smaldos. Item duo annuli auri magni, unus habet balassum quadrum a quatuor cantonis et alter saphyrum ab octo angulis. Item unus curadentes de argento. Item libre viginti due solidi sexdecim denarii novem grossorum parvuli decem octo cum illis libris trecentis que sunt de repromissa uxoris Zanini Dandulo suprascripti nepotis quondam dicti domini ducis Veneciarum et pro laziis libre due solidus unus denari quatuor grossorum de quibus Marchesina debet habere libras decem grossorum pro sua filia. Item debent excuti a palatio pro una sententia libre decem octo grossorum solidi sex denarii duo grossorum et parvuli viginti duo que nondum sunt excusse ex eo quod nos commissarii recurere debemus advocatoribus comunis. Item debent excuti ab uno comitum de Vegla solidi octo et denarii decem cum dimidio grossorum pro regalia. Item unum scripgnum diete commissarie ad tenendum et conservandum intus et denarios et alias scripturas commissarie predicte quondam domini ducis. Iste infrascripte res sunt deputate ad usum uxoris Zanini Dandulo predicti. In primis una roba de sago albo silicet tunica et varnachia infrisata ipsa tunica et varnachia, sed varnachia est inforata de cendado blavo et tunica habet pirolos intaiatos de argento inaurato. Item unum epitogium ad unde de panno aureo, et de panno cardinali furnitum cappis argenteis et inforatum de varotis. Item unum epitogium et una tunica de panno sblavado et scarlato infrisata, et ipsum epitogium est inforatum de varota et fornitum ansolis magnis argenteis inauratis et ipsa tunica esi furnita de pressuris argenteis inauratis. Item unum epitogium de auro inforatum de varotis. Item una tunica de scarlato infrisata de perlis. Item una tunica et unum epitogium de panno viridi inforatum pelle grisea. Item due zube de cendato una quarum est laborata ad undas de cendato viridi et sanguineo. Item unum rubinum de meselo et de catabriato. Item unum rubinum de auro ad intaj cum

gramitibus. Item una zoia incasata et habet tresdecim taselos de rubinis et smaldis et perlis. Item unum filum de perlis centum et decem septem. Item recepit suprascripta domina ducissa a comite Bartholomeo et a comite Nicolao juniori de Vegla libras octo solidos sex denarios octo grossorum. Item recepit a comite Marco filio quondam domini Nicolay comitis majoris de Vegla libras sex et solidos tres grossorum. Item recepit libras sexdecim solidos decem octo denarios novem grossorum a palatio de rebus venditis. Item recepit libras quindecim solidum unum denarios novem grossorum a domino Nicolao Contareno predicto. Item recepit pro lignis ab igne venditis libras tres solidos novem grossorum. Item recepit libras decem, solidos decem grossorum de pannis et vestimentis quondam dicti domini ducis venditis quando ipsa exivit de palatio. Quos omnes suprascriptos denarios ipsa expendidit in reparatione et aptatione domorum et proprietatum positarum in confinio sancti Pauli et sancti Salvatoris et in distribuendo pro anima ipsius quondam domini ducis et pro aliis necessariis. Signum suprascriptorum commissariorum qui hec rogaverunt fieri.

Tempore domini Angeli Suriano judicis peticionis in sua curia michi notario ipse dixit quod non elevarem dictum istrumentum nisi aliter alias michi diceretur — postmodum domini advocatores comunis et fuit dominus Petrus Zane qui michi precepit instrumentum predictum fieri in publicam formam et sic feci de autoritate domini ducis et suorum consiliariorum propter mortem testium.

Infrascriptis duobus testibus morte preventis qui erant testes rogati se subscribere in suprascripta inventarii carta, de mandato et autoritate domini domini Andree Dandulo Dei gratia Veneciarum Dalmacie atque Chroatie ducis suique minoris et maioris consilii, cum subscriptione ipsius domini ducis et quatuor suorum consiliariorum qui fuerunt isti, silicet dominus Paulus Donato, dominus Johannes Lauretano, dominus Johannes Quirino et dominus Stephanus Marijoni. In millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo nono mense septembris die decimo nono intrante indicione tercia Rivoalti. Ego presbiter Victor canonicus ecclesie sancti Marci et notarius complevi et roboravi dictam inventarii cartam et ipsam dedi suprascripto Johanni Dandulo et ideo de atramento circumdedi.

Testes Bertolinus de Cremona filius quondam Baldesarini de Quageis de viscinatu sancti sepulcri, et Jacobinus de Parma filius quondam Bernardi de Parma ambo de confinio sancti Cassiani.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Sezione Notarile, Cancelleria inferiore — B, 219. Not. Vettore, Canonico di S. Marco.)

VIII

Inventario delle cose lasciate dal patrizio Giorgio Ruzzini, morto nel viaggio da Venezia ad Alessandria (1453)

In nomine Dei eterni Amen. Anno Incarnationis Dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, indicione prima, die vero martis octavo mensis Ianuarii in molo Motoni in galea capetanea. Inventarium omnium rerum et bonorum viri nobilis ser Georgii Ruzini qu. ser Francisci defuncti in galea Bernarda ad viagium Alexandrie capetaneo spectabili et generoso domino Francisco Lauredano qu. magnifici domini Petri olim procuratoris ecclesie Sancti Marci cuius anima requiescat in pace Dei misericordia, que inventa fuerunt post eius mortem in dictis galeis Capetanea et Bernarda. Factum de mandato prefati domini capetanei presentis et sic precipientis in presentia viri nobilis ser Andree Navaierio qu. nobili Bernardi balistario de pupi dicte galee Capetanee, ser Ioanne Barbaro qu. domini Stephani et ser Petro Alemanti ser domini Bartholomei et mei presbiteri Christophori de Flore veneti notarii, nec non dicti domini capetanei capelani. (Ad instantiam commissarie qu. ser Georgii Ruzino.)

In primis in uno cophano forato.

Una vestis de scharlato cum manicis a cultelazo fulcita de lupis cerveriis.
Una vestis de scharlato dupla fulcita de pano beretino.
Una caputia paonatia.
Una cassetta de anzipresso nova cum duabus camixiis et duabus mudandis novis.
Unum par caligarum de scharlato.
Una diplois de scharlato.
Una gona nigra fulcita de albertinis.
Unum par linteaminum.
Unum galerium de lana nigrum.
Unum par caligarum nigrarum pro sotularibus veterum.
Una mudanda de lana beretina.
Unus saculus cum garofalis cuxitus.
Unus mantelinus viridis simplex de pano nigro.

In una capsa aquaternis.

Una capseta d'anzipresso cum duobus paribus sotularium.
Unum par zocholorum batantium.
Sex maiuoli de zera alba.
Unum mazetum de spago pro litteris (?).
Tres pecteni eburnei ligati in una carta.
Unum ligazetum cum pectenis duobus ligneis et duobus eburneis ligatis in una carta cum aliquibus acubus ligatis in una carta.

Unum biretum viride simplex de grana.
Unum biretum duplum nigrum.
Quatuor candele depicte.
Unum mazetum candelarum albarum pro mensa.

In fiorio dicte capse.

Duo mazeti candelarum albarum minutarum.
Septem maioli de cera alba.
Unum fazitergium vetus.
Quatuor fazoli cum capitibus di sirico ad moreschum.
Duo naxitergia de ixaro sine capitibus ligati in una carta.
Unum par cirotecarum de corio albo.
Unum marsupium de corio albo cum ducatis duobus auri et cum libris 12 parvorum soldis 12 et tornexiis soldi 53. Que tornexia data fuerunt Simoni Ruzini olim suo famulo qui asseruit dictum marsupium cum supra-scriptis denariis inventis intus fore suum.
Unus saculus de catupatia cum grosis L. 34, sol. 16, de quibus prefatus dominus capetanius extrassit ducatos quinque videlicet libras triginta parvorum qui fuerunt pro expensis sue mense sibi factis a Venetiis usque in Alexandriam.

In una cistela.

Tres camixie.
Tres mudande.
Una diplois de zendato de grana.
Unus cultelus panescus cum suo cultelino deargentato cum sua vagina.
Una diplois de fustaneo albo cum uno cultelino apenso.
Unum par caligarum solatorum nigrarum.
Unum par chaligarum nigrarum prosotularum.
Unum aliud par chaligarum nigrarum solarum.
Duo paria scharpetarum albarum novarum.
Una tachia de tella.
Unum facitergium
Una seola pro panis
Unus pectenelus
Duo quaterni parvi scripti
Unum speculum parvum
} in uno charnarolo de tella.
Una zentura nigra de siricho deargentata
Una gona nigra dupla
} in una schatola longa.
Unum par sotularium veterum.
Unus penarolus et unum pugilare.
Unum biretum simplex nigrum.
Unus charnalorus florentinus cum aliquibus scripturis intus.

In una capsela a scripturis.

Unum facitergium vetus cum uno petio panni paonatii ligatum.
Unum ligatium bindarum filli crudi.
Una carta cum stringis rubeis.
Unum ofitiolum.
Duo stelle eburnee pro pectene non laborate.
Unus pectenellus eburneus.
Unus liber sui computi parvus.
Aliqua folia carte ad scribendum.
Unus partitor argenteus et deauratus.
Unum par tabularum pro scribendo.
Una ampula revoluta in aliqua tella.
Duo raxorii.
Unus lapis pro aguario.
Unus temperator.
Una tocha auri ed argenti.
Unum scharnutium cum bagatinis venetis intus.
Alique madasse spagi ad suendum.
Unus charnarolus de tella.
Unum marsupium de corio veteri in quo erat et est.
Unus anulus aureus de bulla cum zerto signo.
Duo ducati auri.
Monete solditorum gr. 3 sold. 3. Una moneta morescha argentea et duo tornexia.

In uno stramatio.

Una carpeta veteri.
Unum letexelum de tella alba cum pluma.
Una cultra vetus cum bindis rubeis et blavis.
Duo chusini cum suis entemelis.
Una capa pro galea rubea fulcita de pano albo.

In manibus trium hominum a remo a porta dite galee capetanee.

Una cofa plena caparis chuxita } unius magnitudinis.
Una cofa plena ruxis chuxita }
Una cofa plena seminibus papagalorum, minor illis, quas dicti tres homines dixerunt habuisse a dicto predefuncto ad nabulum pro uno ducato de Alexandria usque Venetias.

In galea Bernarda apud famulum Pizoli.

Unus papagalus cum sua cheba coperta de chanipatia.
Notum fatio qualiter omnia suprascripta fuerunt posita in dictis capsis que clause fuerunt cum suis clavibus. Et deinde dicte capse bulate fuerunt super suis seris cum bulla Sancti Marci manu prefati domini Capetanei,

quarum capsarum claves consignate fuerunt immediate per dictum dominum Capetanium michi notario infrascripto, presentibus suprascriptis.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Sezione Notarile, Notaio Cristoforo Del Fiore, protocollo 1449-1450, c. 5, busta 83.)

IX

Inventario di una casa borghese (1454)

In nomine Dei eterni Amen. Anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, indicione secunda, die vigesimo septimo mensis Iunii Rivoalti. In domo qu. ser Venturini qu. Ioannis defuncti de confinio Sancti Cassiani, cuius anima requiescat in pace Dei misericordia. Inventarium omnium rerum et bonorum existentium in dicta domo dicti predefuncti, inventarum post eius mortem, factum et scriptum per me notarium infrascriptum in presentia testium infrascriptorum ad instantiam et de voluntate venerabilis viri domini presbiteri Andree de Pactis et providi viri ser Andree Magazano vel veluti Comissariorum dicti predefuncti pro maiori parte, de quibus rebus et bonis inventis in predicta domo non notata fuerunt multa que dicta fuerunt esse pro pignore a pluribus personis a sua olim uxore et Marco eius filio et non fuerunt notata et posita in presenti inventario sed separata in certis cophanis et capsis existentibus in dicta domo in presentia viri providi ser Antonii Fero scribani ad offitium Iustitie Veteris, Pasqualini diaconi ecclesie Sancti Pauli, et Francisci qu. Antonii Corna testium vocatorum et rogatorum et mei presbiteri Christophori De Flore Veneti notarii.

In duabus suis cameris simul et semel in sua camera p.°

Duo lecta magna.
Unum lectum pro cariola.
Unum letexelum pro cuna.
Septem capizalia.
Sex cusineli.
Unum par lintearium magnorum, unum novum et unum vetus cum capitibus.
Una cultra blava laborata cum leporibus incisis satis bona.
Una cortina de tella de sancto Gallo deaurata cum floronibus.
Unum quadrum cum ymagine Domine Nostre tenente figuram Christi mortui super brachia cum suo armariolo.
Unus puerulus ligneus et depictus.
Una spata cum sua vagina apensa in muro.
Duo tapeta vetera.

In uno cofano novo.

Quatuor brachia dimiti albi.
Una investitura de carixea alba portata cum brazalis de veluto albi et cremexini cum suis manichetis fulcita de planetis argenteis.
Una zorneta de carixea cum guazaronis.
Una vestis de pano paonatio pro viro fulcita de cendato de verzi.
Una vestis morela fulcita de zendato torto de grana.
Una vestis morela fulcita de zendato nigro.
Una vestis nigra ugnola portata et frustrata.
Unum caputium nigrum bonum.
Unum manichetum de veluto nigro videlicet de zetani.
Unus fazolus cum capitibus de syricho vergatis.
Unnm biretum nigrum duplum et vetus.
Una gona turchina fulcita de blancheto fracta et lagerata.

In uno alio chofano novo.

Unum chavetium de tella de candida brachiorum XXV°.
Unum aliud chavetium de tella de candida brachiorum XXX^ta.
Unus mantellus de mostovalerio vetus.
Unum biretum nigrum longum et vetus.
Unum aliud biretum nigrum longum et bonum.
Unum doctrinale de bona carta novum et gloxatum.
Unum mantellum blavum et vetus.
Unum par regularum Guarini de bona carta.
Una guarnatia de pantiis girorum.
Una carpeta vetus fulcita de pellibus.

In un cofaneto novo.

Tres tatie argentee una magna et due parve, que postea posite fuerunt in secundo cophano, quia dictus cophanetus remansit vacuus.

In una capsa de talpono.

Unum linteamen seu nenzolus de quator tellis cum capitibus desfilatis.
Unum mantile longum vergatum in capitibus de blavo.
Unum mantile vergatum cum capitibus albis grosum sed bonum.
Una camixia pro viro nova.
Unus nenzolus operatus de tellis tribus.
Duo entemele nove.
Tres fassie nove.
Una schufia.

In uno cofaneto parvo posito in dicta capsa erant anuli infrascripti et infrascripte res.

Una vera aurea laborata cum stelis.

Unum balasium chogolegnum ligatum in uno anulo aureo boni coloris cum una fossa.

Due vergete auree una maior altera.

Tria scharnutia cum aliquibus maietis argenteis et planetis XVII.

In una capsa de albeto.

Una diplois de pano rubeo satis bona.

Unum biretum longum nigrum et portatum pluries.

Unus nenzoletus pro chuna operatus.

Una entemela.

Una zenturia de siricho alexandrina fulcita argento.

Una veta pro pueris nigra cum schaietis argenteis.

Quatuor petia unius chadenele argentee veteris.

Una filzia planetarum bonarum numero centum.

Una veta de scharlato veteri pro pueris cum aliquibus copoletis argenteis.

Una zenturia tessuta cremexina pro viro larga et fulcita argento.

In una carta plicata due torchexie paucissimi valoris, et una dupla rubea.

In uno cophaneto depicto et discoperto.

Unus saculus cum argentis fractis.

Tria coclearia argentea et vetera.

Unus pometus argenteus cum ioldano intus.

Una veta de veluto cremexino.

Unum naxitergium novum de siricho.

Quatuor naxitergia laborata cum siricho.

Unum par manichetorum de damaschino viridi vetus.

In alia camera.

Una cultra blava cum zoiis vetus.

Una cultra blava schieta et bona.

Unum par linteaminum vetus.

Unus zolonus tessutus pro lecto vergato.

Unus canipelus pro burcho.

Una alzana.

Sachi pro formento et farina numero XLII.

Unus sachus similis cum lino intus pro medictate sachi adhuc non laboratus.

In uno cophano vetere.

Unus fazolus vergatus.

Duo paria chaligarum solatarum et bonarum.

Unum chapetium panni viridis clari et alti brachiorum V balneatarum et zimatarum.

Unus mantellus niger et vetus.

Una vestis paonatia vetus cum manicis rotondis.

Unum copertorium de cendato cum bindis nigris et rubeis.

Una investitura de pano mostovalerio fulcita planetis et macetis argenteis.

Una vestis de grana pro viro cum manicis a cubito.

In uno alio cophano vetere.

Unus mantellus niger et vetus.

Unus corparolus de zendato viridi fulcitus de blandita.

Quatuor petia blanchete nove.

Unum capetium pani viridis alti brachiorum IV^{or} balneatarum et cimatarum.

Una investitura de charixea viridis in quartis noviter tincta.

Unum copertorium de molato vetus et fulcitum pelibus agnelini.

Unum capetium pani de sex rubei brachiorum IV^{or}.

Unum capetium pani largi cupi balneatarum et cimati brachii unius.

Unus mantellus pani mostovalerii bonus cum fenestrelis.

Una carpeta de molato viridi et vetus.

Una investidura pro puero panni viridis et rechamata.

In una capsa de talpono.

Due petie de tella de quibus aliquantulum et parum inzisum fuit quas bulavi manu mea sigillo unius mei annuli tantum in uno capite unde incisum fuit.

Una alia petia telle integra.

Unus sacus plenus tella pro tinteaminibus adhuc non inzisis cum suis panelis quem sachum etiam ego notarius infrascriptus bullavi dicto sigillo.

Alique madasie filli crudi, videlicet V^{o}.

In una alia capsa de talpono.

Duo linteamina nova.

Unum linteamen vetus.

In una alia tertia capsa de talpono.

Unus centus niger pro viro cum franzis fulcito argento.

Unus pectenis de avolio et operatus et depictus auro.

Unum capizetum de veluto cremexino.

Unus pignolatus beretinus pro puero non completus cum brazalis.

Unum capetium pani bassi viridis pro pari uno caligarum.

Duo tobalee nove cum capitibus vergatis de blavo.

Unum par manichorum de scharlato.

Unus zentus viridis absque argento.

Una schuphia laborata cum syricho cremexino non completa.

Una corda de paternostri de ambra nigra cum uno pomo argenteo et deaurato.

Duo coclearia argentea vetera.

Quatuor vete pro pueris una de veluto albo et cremexino et alie de veluto plurium maneriorum.

Unus fazoletus laboratus cum syricho cremexino non completus.

In uno cophaneto ferato.

Unus liber de carta bombicina magnus, novus et non scriptus cum suo alphabeto.

Unus alius liber eiusdem quantitatis scripture.

Multe alie scripture ad refuxum.

Unum par tabellarum pro scribere, scripte cum aliquibus scripturis.

In una alia capseta de talpono habente duas seraduras.

Una entemela nova habente intus quatuor naxitergia et unum faxitergium.

Una entemela vetus habens intus fassias sex novas.

Quatuor zenturie rubee et veteres fulcite argento.

Due zenturie virides veteres et fulcite argento.

Unum par manitectorum de zentani viridi novorum.

Unum par manitectorum de damaschino paonatio brochatorum auro et novorum.

Duo entemele nove.

Tria brachia de fostagno albo.

Duo facitergia cum capitibus de siricho albo.

Unum facitergium cum capitibus blavis.

Unus nenzoletus factus ex duobus fazolis chuxitis in unum cum capitibus vergatis cum syricho.

Unus nenzolus vetus.

Una libra filli crudi.

In una capsa de talpono.

Una entemella habens intus fillum crudum laceratum et male gubernatum, et nil aliud erat in dicta capsa.

Per domum hic et illic in diversis locis.

Una arzela nova pro farina tenenda.
Una credentia parva.
Duo bazilia.
Unus raminus parvus.
Unus lavetius de metallo.
Tria sechia magna de ramine.
Tres chatini de stagno.
Unus lavetius de terra.
Una chaldarola stagnata.
Una alia absque stagno.
Tres catene de ferro.
Duo paria de chavedonis.
Due banche francesche.
Una tabula de ancipresso pro manducare de supra.
Una moleta pro stizare.
Una spinazia pro lino.
Unus choncolis vetus.

In Canipa.

Una buta unius amphore plena vino cocto.
Una butexella cum azetó numero quarte X^{ma}.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Sezione Notarile, Notaio Cristoforo del Fiore, protocollo 1449–1450, c. 8, busta 83.)

Documents D — ATTI GIURIDICI

I

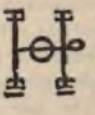
1072 (?) aprile. Rialto

Attestazione di Domenico Rosso d'esser stato presente ad una querela fatta da Domenico suo nipote contro Domenico Serzi per 9 sporte di allume.

In nomine domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi . Anno incarnacionis eiusdem redemptoris nostri / millesimo septuagesimo secundo mense aprilis indicione decima Rivo alto . Breviarium carte recor/dacionis facimus nos Dominicus Roso . die quadam dum essem ante presencia dom/ini Dominici Contareni ducis tunc ibi venit Dominicus Roso nepoti meo . et proclamavit se supra Dominico Serzy quod sibi retinebat / novem sportas de alumen quod Iohannes Martinacio de castello ei per illum / de Alexandria missum habebat . tunc Dominicus Serzy dixit / nolit Deus

dixit Dominicus Serzy verum dedit michi Iohannes Marti/nacio ipsum alume ut dedissem illum ad uxor eius . dixit Dominicus Roso / nepoti meo ego abeo testes quod Iohannes Martinacio misit michi ipsum alum/me propter quod michi debitor est . unde per legem sibi vadimonium dedit / comprobandi ego inde fide iussor sum . testificavit michi Dominico Premar/co per hore Urso Pladuni quia ipso alumme comparatum fuit ad nomen / Dominico Roso ut audivit et a Dominico Roso missum fuissed . Johannes / filius meo testificavit michi dum venit ad Mothones . deprecavit illum Do/minico Serzy ut recepissed in sua navim novem sportas de allumme quod / Iohannes Martinacio mittet ad Dominico Roso consoprino meo / et suo servo . ipse dixit non possumus quod caricatus sum. Iohannes Musulino testificavit michi quod invenit loquentem Dominico Serzy cum Iohanne / filio meo et deprecavit ut illum misi sed alumme in sua navim quod inde / pertinebat Dominico Roso . testificavit michi Petrus Bollo dum ipso / alumme missum fuit in sua navim . audivit quod ipso alumme / fuissed Dominico Roso . et suo servo illum navigavit . et dum rationem / de caricum fecimus semper dicebat Dominico Serzy quod ipso alumme fuissed Dominico Roso . et Dominico Muysolo semiliter michi / testificavit . quod semper audivit in Alexandria et in navim sive de / hore Dominico Serzi quod predictas novem sportas de alumme fuis/sed Dominicus Roso . quod Iohannes Martinacio eas illi misised / et manifestavit michi Urso Pladuni pro teste . et filio Quirino . et Grego/rio de Torcello.

Ego Dominicus Roso fide iussor manu mea subscripsi.

Ego Iohannes testis subscripsi  testium idest Iohannes Fuscari.
Ego Dominicus testis " Dominicus Fuscari.
Ego Iohannes testis " Iohannes filius Dominico Ursoyolo.

Ego Ieremias presbiter notarius ut audivi ex hore de suprascripto fide iusso/re complevi et roboravi.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Archivio del monastero di San Zaccaria — Pergamene.)

II

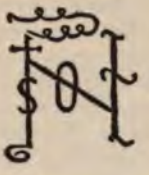
1086 APRILE. RIALTO

Paolo Salomone di Rialto dichiara a Domenico del fu Pietro Pantaleo, pure di Rialto, di aver ricevuto nove documenti relativi a certa proprietà.

In nomine domini Dei et salvatori nostris Iesu Christi . Anno / ab incarnacione eiusdem redemptoris nostri millesimo octuagesimo / sexto . mense Aprili . Indictione nona Rivoalto. Post / defensionis cartam quam

mihi fecisti de ipsa proprietate / terrae et casae et suae divisionis de orto quam / Dominicus Caputincollo cognatus tuus mihi transa/ctavit per firmitatis cartas quas inde mihi fecit / ut in eis continetur; Manifestus sum ego quidem / Paulus Salomon habitator in rivo alto cum meis / heredibus . tibi Dominico Pantaleo filio quondam Petri / Pantaleo et tuis heredibus; quia habeo apud me / receptas novem cartulas ad ipsam suprascriptam proprietatem / pertinentes . Quarum est una diiudicati cartula quam / Otto dux fecit cum coeteris hominibus Venetiae . ad Costantinum grecum Voris iusto prati de Costan/tinopoli; de proprietate Iohannis Gratiadei . Est una / documenti cartula quam fecit Dominicus filius bonae memoriae Dominici / Mauri ad Iohannem filium Martini Gratiadei. Est securitatis / cartula quam Constantinus qui nominatur Voris grecus fecit / Martino et Iohanni ambobus fratribus filiis Iohannis Gratiadei . / Est caucionis cartula quam fecit Dominicus clericus filius bonae memoriae / Dominici Bragadini ad Iohannem Florencium continentem de cape/tanea denarios exmeratos mancusios duocentos . Est caucionis / cartula quam fecit Martinus Gratiadei pariter cum Marina / uxore sua ad Ardradum qui dicebatur Boniverto de / civitate Verona continentem de capetanea septem miliaria / de lana, et libras denariorum veronensium quadraginta quinque . / Est securitas de super omnia quam fecit Martinus Gratiadei / veneticus ad Ardradum de civitate Verona . Est caucionis / cartula quam fecit Martinus Gratiadei insimul cum Marina / uxore sua ad Dominicum Caputincollo continentem de cape/tanea libras denariorum ducentas . Est sequens eius securitas / quam similiter Martinus Gratiadei insimul cum Marina uxore / sua fecit ad Dominicum Caputincollo de super tota terra et / casa sua cum tota sua vinea ibi coniuncta . Est documen/tum quod fecit Iohannes filius Divizo ioculatoris ad Martinum / Gratiadei de una pecia de terra coelo tecta. Unde promit/tens promitto ego quidem praenominatus Paulus Salomon ti/bi iam dicto Dominico Pantaleo . ut si fuerit clare / factum quod hinc in antea usque ad quinque annos expletos tam suprascriptae novem cartulae quam una decima cartula quae / est breviarium quod fecit Petrus Caputincollo ad Dominicum / Caputincollo fratrem suum de ipso muro qui reiacet in ca/pite de sua et illius caminata tibi opus extiterint / legendi in placito ad defensandum me propter suprascriptam de/fensionem quam mihi fecisti; tunc prenominatas decem cartulas / tibi ostendere et presentare debeam ad tuam et meam / defensionem usque ad completos istos quinque annos . Quod / si haec omnia non observavero et non adimplevero . / et prenominatas decem cartulas cum tibi opus fuerint osten/dere et presentare noluero aut non potuero in pla/cito vel ubi tibi necesse fuerit ad legendum ad tuam / et meam defensionem ut supra legitur; et aliquod dampnum / pro eis tibi accreverit . et fuerit clarefactum usque / ad suprascriptos completos istos quinque annos . tunc componere promitto / cum meis haeredibus tibi et tuis haeredibus auri libras quinque . et haec / promissio in suprascripto ordine in sua maneat firmitate usque ad suprascriptum terminum /

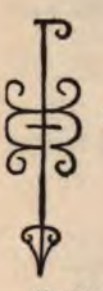
Signum manus suprascripti Pauli qui hoc rogavit fieri.
Ego Dominicus testis subscripsi.
Ego Petrus rogatus testis subscripsi.
Ego Stefanus testis subscripsi.



(Notitia testium) Idest Dominicus filius boni Michaelis.

Petrus Maurus.

Stefanus Carosus.



Ego Dominicus clericus et / notarius complevi et roboravi.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Archivio del monastero di San Zaccaria — Pergamene, p. 5; S. Zulian.)

III

1098 OTTOBRE. RIALTO

Attestazione di Martino Vetulo, prete di San Provolo, circa questioni sopra una siepe del Monastero di San Zaccaria.

In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi . Anno / ab incarnacione eiusdem redemptoris nostri millesimo nonagesimo / octavo mense Octubri Indictione Septima Rivo / alto . Breviarium testificacionis facimus omnes quorum / nomina et manu subter conscripti et affir/mati sumus qualiter pro certo scimus secundum quod / huius scripture ordo subterius manife/stabitur . Igitur ego quidem Martinus presbiter Vetulus / de aecclesia sancti Proculi testificor quia quadam / die misit me insimul cum sociis meis domina / mea abbatissa ad Aurium Dommarcum ; quia / in tempore illo quando ipse occupabat cum / sepe ; quod ipse mittebat terram sancti Zacha/riae . a comprehenso capite de ipsa piscina / in antea. Sic vero diximus ei . dominae Auriae / mandat tibi interdicendum omnibus modis / domina nostra abbatissa quod non intermittas terram / sancti Zachariae . ad hoc ille dixit nolit Deus sed / magis volo . de meo ibi dare . preter hec / autem venit ipse venit nobiscum ante domina / nostra abbatissa

et tali modo locutus est dicens . / Karissima domina rogo te ut dimittas istum sepem modo / propterea quia nulla possessio est . et cum / suprascriptum sepem veterescat; dimittam terram / tuam et intromittam meam . et in his dictis / domina nostra abbatissa quievit . Ego Al/bertus presbiter de suprascripta aecclesia sancti Proculi . quadam / die post obitum predicti Aurii Dommarci / fui ego insimul cum Martinum presbiterum de / Saletum quando eius relictam recuperabat ipsum / sepem et nos ei interdiximus ex parte suprascriptae / dominae nostrae abbatissae et illa dixit . / tale responsum facio vobis sicut primitus / suprascriptus vir meus inde fecit . Huius rei / hordinem nos predicti testes Andream presbiterum / Martinacium et notarium ut superius patet scri/bere rogavimus . Signum manus suprascripti Mar/tini presbiteri qui hoc rogavit fieri.

Ego Albertus presbiter sancti Proculi manu mea subscripsi.
Ego Andreas presbiter et notarius / complevi et roboravi.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Archivio del monastero di San Zaccaria — Pergamene, b. 1; S. Provolo.)

Documents E — FORME DI DOCUMENTI

I

1056 maggio

Quietanza di prete Fiorenzo, figlio di Domenico Giovannaci Bragadini, a Domenico Cenzalesso dei legati a suo favore lasciati dal fu Giovanni Ferrario.

In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi . Anno In/carnacionis eiusdem redemptoris nostri millesimo quinquagesimo sexto / mense madio indictione nona rivo alto . Plenam et ir/revocabilem securitatem mitto ego quidem Forentius presbiter / filius Dominico Iahanaci Bragadino cum meis successoribus / tibi Dominico Cenzalesso et tuis heredibus . De su/pertota dimissoria magna vel parva . Quod Iohannes / Ferarius nepoti atque commisso tuo mihi largi/vit cum ad hobitum venit . Nunc autem post suum / hobitum per omnia inde me deliberasti . et super to/ta eius proprietas terra et casa secundum quod tu illam da/tam habes ad Petronia relicta Iohanni Sanudo . et ad / eius heredes . remanet in eorum potestatem ad / faciendum quodcumque ad eis placuerint / Eciam de super totum omnia et in omnibus quo ab / inicio de qualicumque re usque modo insimul ha/buimus . Ut nullis diebus nullisque temporibus / vos requirere aut compellere debeamus per nullum in/genium non parvum neque magnum . non de nullis / rebus vel speciebus . Quoniam die presenti venimus / in iudicio et per sacramentum omnia et in omni/bus inter nos

cisimus finivimus . atque trans/acte deliberavimus . et nichil remanzit / de ulla re de sub cœlo quod homo cogitare potest / quod vos amplius requirere debeamus . Quod si / quocumque tempore de suprascriptis omnibus capitulis aliquid / requirere temptaverimus . componere promitto cum / meis successoribus tibi et tuis heredibus auri libras quin/que . haec securitas maneat in sua firmitate.

† Ego presbiter Florencius manu mea subscripsi.
† Ego Tobia testis subscripsi.
† Ego Marinus testis subscripsi.
† Ego Iohannes testis subscripsi.

(Notitia testium id est) Tobia filius Iohani / de Aequilo. Marinus filius Iohanni Mi/chaeli . Iohanes / Gradonicus.

Ego Leo diaconus et notarius / complevi et roboravi.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Archivio del monastero di San Zaccaria — Pergamene, b. 24 ; Estere.)

II

1078 LUGLIO. RIALTO

Felice Moro, pievano nella chiesa di San Salvatore, figlio di Domenico, cede a Pietro e Paolo di Checio pellicciaio un terreno in quella parrocchia per lire di denari 30, e pel censo annuo di 6 libre d'olio.

In nomine Domini dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi. Anno incarnacionis eiusdem redemptoris nostri millesimo septuagesimo octavo . mensis Julii indictione prima Rivo alto . Igitur ego quidem Felix Maurus plebanus ecclesie sancti salvatoris filius Dominici Mauri conscenciente mihi domno Heinrico Contareno castellano episcopo seniorî et consoprino meo cum meis successoribus ad hodie in Dei et Christi nomine dans damus atque transactamus vobis Petro et Paulo ambobus fratribus filiis Gecii pilizaii et vetris heredibus imperpetuum et prefuturum possidendum hoc est unam peciam de terra quae est de pertinentia predictae nostra ecclesiae sancti Salvatoris quam nos per hanc libelli cartam vobis damus et transactamus . habentem in longnitudine sua plus minus pedes septuaginta uno et semissa . et in latitudinem suam tota equaliter plus minus pedes viginti novem et semissam . Uno capite tetente in calle predictae nostrae ecclesiae lato pedes tres iusta rivum ubi est aliquantum de fundamenta . unde habere debes introitum et exitum atque iunctorium et jaglacionem . Alio autem capite tenente in terra predictae nostrae ecclesiae . Uno latere

firmat in calle iamdictae nostrae aecclesiae domini Salvatoris latus pedes tres . qui revolvit ipse callis a compreenso predicto rivo iusta terram Vitalis Stephano usque in alio calle suprascriptae nostrae ecclesiae . Unde tu cum tua familia et cum parentibus et amicis ire et redire debeas sursum atque deorsum in die vel in nocte nullo tibi homine contradicente . Alio vero latere predictae terrae firmat in pissina predictae meae ecclesiae unde habere debes introitum et exitum atque iunctorium et jaglacionem . usque in pedes quinquaginta de longnitudine . hanc namque totam prenominatam designatam peciam de terra cum omni longnitudine et latitudine cum capitibus et lateribus suis . et cum cuncta ibi habente et pertinente ab intus et foris cum suis iacentiis suae tam subtus terram quam supra terram adesse noscuntur pleniter in tua damus et transactamus plenissimam potestatem habendi . tenendi . edificium supra edificandi . vendendi . donandi . comutandi . et in perpetuum possidendi aut quicquid inde tibi placuerit faciendi nullo tibi homine contradicente . Unde nobis et nostrae aecclesiae dedistis libras denariorum triginta . quia nichil remansit quod vos inde amplius requirere debeamus . Tamen vero statutum habemus inter nos ut omni anno in festivitate domini Salvatoris nobis et predictae nostrae ecclesiae dare debeatis libras de oleo sex tantum . et si usque ad completos quinque annos transgressi eritis quod omnique anno ipsam luminariam non dederitis nobis et predictae nostrae ecclesiae . tunc ad completos quinque annos ipsam predictam terram in nostram et de nostra aecclesia deveniat potestatem ad faciendum quodcumque nobis placuerit . et si unqam tempore ipsa terra venundata fuerit nobis et nostre ecclesiae quintellum persolvere debeatis et inde in antea suprascriptum censum et quintellum semper salvum esse debet nobis et predictae nostrae aecclesiae et nos sive successores nostri omnique vigesimo nono anno vobis et heredibus ac proheredibus vestris renovare promittemus . Quod si unquam tempore a nobis vel ab aliquibus personis hominum pulsatus vel evictus fueris et minime vos inde in omnibus defensore noluerimus aut non potuerimus ab omnibus questionantibus vel calumpniantibus hominibus qui te de suprascripta re expellere voluerit ex parte vel ex toto aut contra hanc cartam ire temptaverimus . et omnique vigesimo nono anno istum libellum tibi renovare et redintegrare noluerimus aut non potuerimus recte persolvente vos suprascriptum censum et quintellum ut supra diximus nobis et predictae nostrae aecclesia componere promittimus cum nostris successoribus vobis et vestris heredibus auri libras quinque . et post solutum promissum maneat hec libelli et defensionis carta semper in sua firmitate . Quam scribere rogavimus Dominicum Saturninum clericum notarium et ecclesiae sancti Cassiani plebanum.

Ego Heinricus per misericordiam Dei castellanus episcopus manu mea subscripsi.

Ego Felix Mauro diaconus vicarius aecclesiae sancti Salvatoris m . m . s . s .

Ego Boncius testis subscripsi
ego Petrus " "
" Dominicus " "
(Notitia testium) idest Bonofilius Iustus
Petrus Fuscarus Dominicus Maurecenus
(S. t.) Ego Dominicus clericus et notarius complevi et roboravi.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Archivio del monastero di San Zaccaria — Pergamene.)

III

1176 GIUGNO. RIALTO

Carlotta di San Zulian, ricevuti a prestito da Giovanni, tintore di San Basso, soldi 20 di denari di Verona, per mesi sei, si obbliga a dargliene 4 d'interesse, e gli assicura il capitale sopra una casa di legno da essa abitata.

In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi. Anno domini millesimo Centesimo Septuagesimo sexto mense Iunii inditione nona rivo alto . Manifesta sum ego quidem Carlota de confinio Sancti Juliani cum meis successoribus . Quia recepi de te namque Johanne tintore de confinio Sancti Bassi et tuis heredibus solidos denariorum veronensium viginti . quod mihi dedisti et prestitisti in meis utilitatibus peragendum . quos apud me retinere debeo a modo in antea usque ad medium annum . prode vero inde tibi dare debeam solidos veronensium quatuor . et ad ipsum terminum per me vel per meum missum tibi vel tuo misso dare et deliberare suprascriptos tuos suprascriptos viginti soldos veronenses cum toto suprascripto suo prode . Quod si non observavero omnia ut superius legitur; tunc omnia in duplum caput et prode tibi dare et reddere debeam . pro maiori autem firmitate pono tibi nexu fiducie in loco pignoris cunctam et super totam meam fabricam ligneam in qua nunc resideo posita supra terra domini ducis. Ut si minime fecero te ad deliberandum; ad suprascriptum terminum eo ordine ut superius legitur; tunc tribuo tibi potestatem accedere et intromittere et dominare suprascripta tua pignora; et tamquam per legitimum documentum possidere vel quicquid inde tibi placuerit facere nullo tibi homine contradicente; et insuperinde in antea caput et prode et duplum prode laborare debeat de quinque sex per annum apud suprascripta et predesignata tua pignora tantum.

Signum suprascripte Carlote que hoc rogavit fieri
Ego Johannes Staniario testis subscripsi
Ego Dominicus Tuscano testis subscripsi
Ego Marcus Grilioni diaconus et notarius complevi et roboravi.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Archivio del monastero di San Zaccaria — Pergamene.)

Documents F — TERRENI VENDUTI E CEDUTI

I

1031. Chioggia

Giovanni Venerio Bolli vende a Martino Bianco ed Orsone Nadal un terreno in quel di Chioggia per 4 denari.

In nomine domini Dei et salvatoris anno ab incarnacione ejusdem redemptoris / nostri Iesu Christi millesimo trigesimo primo, imperante domno Roma/no magno et pacifico imperatorem anno autem imperii eius secundo post / hobitum Constantinus . . . indicione tertia decima in Clugia Scribere / rogavi Dominicum presbiterum et notarium hanc paginam documenti ego quidem Iohanne filius Vene/rio Bolli cum meis heredibus venditore qui cartulam tradidit et propriis manibus ad / firmauit, testisque subscribere vel signum sancte crucis fieri rogavit. Constad enim / me quidem ab hodie sub dupla rei distrassise distrassi vendidisse ven/didit; atque tradidisse et tradidit obtimo et absoluto; absque omni / reprehensione: vobis Martino Blanco insimul cum Urso Natali compara/tores in perpetuum et ad heredibus hanc proheredibus seu et posterisque vestris profu/turum possidendum . hoc est una pecia de terra vacua et disculta posita in loco uel in capite da cavana. . . / in territorio plebis Clugie vico maiore et ipsa terram ichi advenit / de Iohanne Urso filio bene memorie Urso Iohanni venetico. per donacionis cartulam / Extendente ipsa nominata terra in longitudinem suam habet pedes / centum. et in latitudinem suam similiter centum a si nullis aut coheren/tem et possidentem la . . . capite firmante in . . . lio / in . . . firmante in Petro Lupa . . . endi / quarto coque latere firmante in vos comparatores cum vestros consortes / una cum introicto et exoito suo per terram et per aqua sicut ad Iohanne Urso dona/tore meo uel ad me possessam fuit. Ita vobis suprascriptos comparatores in omnibus / tradidimus possidendum . habendi . tenendi . vendendi . donandi . commu/tandi et usque in perpetuum possidendi et quicquid vobis placuerit faciendi nullo vobis hominem contradicentem non propincum neque extrane/um precium autem placitum . hac difinitum seu recepum . adque completum / de vobis apud me per omnia habeo . de dinarios exmeratos mancusios / quatuor et medio . tantos et nihil exinde remansit quod nos ampli/us requirere debeamus . quod si cocumque tempore annobis uel a quibuslibet personis . / pulsatus aut evictus exinde fueritis . et vos minime stare et defensa/re noluero aut non potuero ab omnibus questionantibus vel calumni/antibus hominibus qui vos de suprascripta terra expelere voluerit . ex parte vel / ex tota . tunc suprascriptum precium una cum omni melioracionem ipsius / rei duplo cum meis heredibus vobis et vestrisque heredibus restituere promitti/mus .

et insuper componere auro libra una . et post soluto prostimo haec pagina / documenti maneat in sua firmitate. † Signum manus suprascripto Iohanni qui fieri rogavit

† signum manus Venerio testis
† signum manus Petro testis
† signum manus Sambatino testis

Notitia testium id. e. Venerio Bolli; Petro Stefano / Sambatino Iohanni de Stefano.

Ego Dominicus presbiter et notarius complevi et roboravi.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Archivio del monastero di San Zaccaria — Pergamene; Chioggia.)

II

1098 GENNAIO. CHIOGGIA

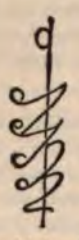
Vitale abitante nel vico di Pellestrina, avendo ricevuta a livello per anni 29 dal convento di San Giorgio Maggiore di Venezia una pezza di terra in Pellestrina, si obbliga di contribuire per censo annuo, 3 soldi di Verona, un paio di polli, e se la ridurrà a vigneto, il terzo del prodotto del vino.

In nomine domini Dei et salvatori Iesu Christi. Anno domini millesimo nonagesimo hocta / vo mense januario . Indicione septima. In Clugia . Post libelli . cartam quam no / bis fecistis promittens promitto . ego quidem Vitalis . abitator . et comora / tor . in vico . Pelestine . cum meis . heredibus . Vobis domnus . Cariman / nus Dei gratia abbas sancti Georii . Justa curtis palacii . et vestro cather / vato . monacorum . huius . vestri monasterii . et vestris . successoribus . / pro ideo . quod vos . a mihi . dedistis . una vestra . pecia de tera . dissculta que / est de ipsa . de vestra eclesia . posita in teritorio . vico Pelestine . / et eam mihi dedisti . amodo in nantea . usque in viginti et novem annis / expletis . ad aliis . libellis . renovandis . mihi . et heredibus . ac proheredibus / meis cum capitibus . et lateribus . suis . cum suis abenciis et pertinenciis / et cum introitis . et exoitis . suis . per terra et per aqua . sicut ad ipsa Dei / ecclesia vel et ad vos possessam fuit, vel sicut manifestad . in libelli . cart / a quam mihi factam . abetis . Ut amodo . in nanteam . debeam . illa laborare / et cultificare cum suos fosados . cum omne . meum . precio . et expendio / vel impedimento . et reditum vel propter censum . inde vobis dare debeam / per omnique anno . in festivitate sancti Martini solidos tres veronenses . et uno / pario de puli . similiter . per unumquemquem anno . in festivitate sancti Marti / ni . ad vos et ad vestros . successores . et si in ipsa terra . vinea edificabo . et / vobis placuerit . recipere . terciam partem . vini mundi . tunc ego vel / meos . heredes . vobis vel in ipsa Dei . eclesia dare . et persolvere . vobis debeam / absque fraude . vel ingenio . et si terciam partem

vini . mundi . vos aut / vestros successores . non vult recipere . tunc ego. vel meos . heredes prenomina/tos . tre solidos . de dinariis veronenses . cum prenominato pario . de puli / sicut supra leitur . omni anno . vobis et in vestra . eclesia dare et persolvere de/beam ad ipso termine in festivitate sancti Martini. Hec omnia hobserva/re et adinplere . promitto . Quod si non observavero . et non adimple / vero, vobis omnia, sicut supra leitur . componere promitto . cum meis / heredibus vobis et vestris . successoribus . auro libras duas . et hec promissio ut / supra continet . maneat in sua firmitate.

† signum manus soprascripto Vitale . qui hoc rogavit fieri.
† signum manus Petro . testis.
† " " Bonus homo "
† " " Dominico "

testium idest Petro Pacegano.
Bonus homo de Palestina.
Dominico frater Vitalis.



Ego Albertus presbiter ianuarius et notarius complevi et roboravi.

(Archivio di Stato in Venezia — Archivio del convento di San Giorgio Maggiore — Pergamene, busta I.)

Document G — GIURAMENTI DEI CAPI DI CONTRADA E DI DUODENA

Iuro ad sancta dei evangelia proficuum et honorem Veneciarum et quod simul cum sociis meis vel eorum altero studiosus ero et solicitus ad faciendum scribi omnes homines mee contrate a LXX annis infra et a XVI supra tam qui sunt ad presens in Veneciis quam qui sunt extra Venecias et ipsis scriptis presentabo domino duci et suo consilio et secundum ordinem per ipsum dominum ducem et suum consilium mihi datum dividam ipsos homines mee contrate per duodenam vel aliter sicut mihi iniunctum fuerit computando me in eis et omnia ordinamenta et precepta per dominum ducem et suum consilium mihi facta que facere debeam ipsis hominibus mee contrate faciam eis et unicuique eorum sicut mihi precepta

fuerint . et est sciendum quod pro predictis faciendis et operandis et complendis possum et debeo ponere homines et personas ad sacramentum penam et penas imponere sicut mihi et sociis meis vel eorum altero videbitur et si quis rebellis fuerit auferam ei dictam penam quam si auferre non potero dabo ipsum et ipsos pro cadutis domino duci ad hoc ut pena per nos imposita eis tollatur. Et quocienscumque dominus dux pro me miserit studiose ibo ad eum et intelligam que mihi dixerit super hoc et ea studiosus ero ducere ad complementum. et eciam omnes illos qui non iuraverint obedienciam faciam eos iurare obedienciam et (omnes ?) credencias mihi dictas per dominum ducem tenendas esse nenebo (sic) et nulli dicam ullo modo hec et alia quecumque dominus dux addere minuere vel mutare voluerit attendam et observabo bona fide sine fraude.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato. — Atti Diplomatici, Misti N. 122 A.)

Iuro ad evangelia sancta dei ego qui sum capud mee contrate quod simul cum sociis meis vel eorum altero infra octo dies postquam recepero presens capitulare ibo ad officium furmenti et ab eis accipiam sive accipi faciam totum illud frumentum quod ipsi michi dare volent, quod dividam bona fide sine fraude remoto odio, precio, precibus vel amore inter gentes dicte contrate et infra tercium diem postquam dictum frumentum per me receptum fuerit dabo cuilibet illam frumenti quantitatem quam videro convenire secundum proprietatem cuiuslibet ad grossos viginti in monetis quolibet stario et non dabo de dicto frumento aliquibus pistoribus sive oretariis nec alicui persone pauperili que non posset accipere sive emere frumentum ad fonticum quos denarios teneor excussisse infra dies quindecim postquam dictum frumentum dedero, ab illis quibus datum fuerit et illos denarios dabo et consignabo dominis officialibus frumenti et si forte aliqui non solverent ad terminum eis dabo pro cadutis de soldis quinque pro quolibet stario dictis officialibus frumenti qui excutere debeant capitale et penas sì forte aliquis nolet nolet (sic) accipere sive recipere de dicto frumento illud poni faciam ante eius hostium et omnes expensas que facte fuerint tam in caricando quam in disscaricando quam in dando poni faciam pro rata cuilibet stario non posendo accipere ultra parvulos sex taliter quod comune habeat dictos grossos viginti de stario et non accipiam aliquem mensuratorem pro mensurando dictum frumentum sine licencia dominorum de frumento sub pena que eiusdem eisdem videbitur afferenda.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato. — Atti diplomatici, Misti N. 122 H.)

Çuro alle vangnelle sante de dio eo che sum cavo de mia contrata che cum li mei compagnoni o chum algum de illi enfra quarto die da chello presente capitolar me sera dato o ad alchum de li mei compagnoni scrivero o faro scrivere mi e li mei conpagnoni e tuti e çescadun homeni de la mia contrata da anni xv en suso enchia ad xxxv e si ali mei conpagnoni como a tuti li oltri sovraditi eo comandero che çasscadun debia aver recovrado

una bona ballestra e soficiente e bene adpareiada de corde e de crocho la qual sia soa propria enchia xv die dacheo li avero fato lo dito comandamento sopto pena de soldi xl, per çasscadun salvi et exceptati quelli che manifestamentre ami et alli mei conpagnoni od ala maior parte de nui parera si povri chelli no possa sostenir le spensarie dela ballestra et encavo del dito termene de xv. die eo sum tegnudo veder la mostra dele dicte ballestre toiando sagramento ad çaschadun che la sea soa propria et non tolta ad emprestedo e tuti quelli che al dito termene no mostrera le soe ballestre sicome dito de sovra daroli en scrito ali inquisitori del mio sestaro per cazudi infra terço die dapo che li sera caçudi in la dita pena e questo sum tegnudo ad aver fato infra lo dito termene sopto pena de soldi xl, per çasscadun termene ancora partiro si mi con li mei conpagnoni cum tuti li altri sovra diti ballesteri per dexene per çasscaduna delle quale eo constituero uno cavo lo quale ami et alli mei conpagnoni od alla maçor parte de nui parerà plu utelle et a çasscadun cavo eo daro en scrito quelli della soa dexena e daroli lo so capitollar lo qual me serà dado per la corte maçor e torolli sagramento osservar quello e quelli cavi com le soe dexene daro inscrito ali inquisitori partando li nobelli per si et quelli de povollo darte per si e non posso meter quelli de povol con li nobelli e per tute queste cosse a far et complir posso meter persone ad sagramento et imponer pena et pene cosse commo ali mei conpagnoni o alla maçor parte de nui parera et tuti quelli che encorera en quelle pene che per nui fosse metude daroli inscrito ali sovraditi enquisitori per çaçudi infra terço die dapo che li sera caçudi in le dite pene e queste cosse de aver fate e conplide infra xxii die dapo che lo presente capitollar me sera dado o algun de li mei conpagnoni sopto pena doltri. xl, soldi.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato. — Atti diplomatici, Misti N. 122 D.)

Çuro ale sante evangele de dio eo chi son cavo de desena cheo ordenere cum quelli dela mia dexena. che ogno di de festa solempne dechia ameço anno. Excepto lo di de Nadal lo di de vener sancto lo di de Pasqua. et le . i i i . feste de le scolle çoe lo di de sen Marco et la vigilia et lo di de sancta Maria. et la domenega de carlevar. nui siemo ensenbre a ballestar ali bersagi de Venezia. o a lidho de sen Nicolo. o altro. la omne parera dentro dal vescovado de Venexia dredo disnar. e se avere ordenado da esser ad alcum bersaio de Venexia sun tegnudo da esser eo et tuti queli de la mia desena alo dito bersaio ananti che basta la campana del conseio. ese conseio non fosse ananti che baste le campana de sen Marco la dita hora del conseio la qual sonerà doatanto de longo deço che fa nona soto pena de grossi . i i . eo et li altri soto pena de grossi . I . e devemo star et balestar continuamente et puramente sença alcuna falacia cum le nostre ballestre che sia bone et sufficiente et no sen de partir de chi a vespero che sonera . in la contrada che nui ballesteremo soto le dite pene . e se alcun dela mia desena vollesse andar a ballestar cum soa brigada che non fosse de mia desena posage andar cum mia licencia . afidando elli cheli non toia

la licencia seno per andar a ballestar et destar et defar ço che dito si eo cum li altri . e son tegnudo tal seli ascusa qual seno de darli en scripto per caçudi ali inquisitori deli ballisteri del mio sexter per tuto laltro di seguente . per sacramento et soto pena de grossi . i i i i . per ogna fiada cheo fallisse de darli en scripto ali diti inquisitori sicome dito e seli avere scusa vadase a escusar ali inquisitori deli sexteri . e le scuse che li po escusare ali soi inquisitori sie queste . se elli fosse stadi enfermi quelo di cheli avesse fallidho o che li non fosse stadi en la terra chelo di . ochel fosse andado a quella hora ad alcun morto . o visitar . o se noçe fosse en casa soa chelo di . eciamdeo queste caxon per sacramento e se per alcuna dele dite caxon eo non de podesse esser . eo laserai uno de quelli de la mia desena che me parera en mio logo et daroli sto capitolar . e ello sia tegnudo de recever lo capitolar et de far loficio sicum sum eo quandeo ge son . soto pena . de grossi . i i i i . ogna fiada che lo recusasse de recever lo capitolar et de far loficio . e son tegnudo de dar enscripto per caçudo ali diti inquisitori ogna fiada chelo recusasse lo plu tosto cheo pore.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato. — Atti diplomatici, Misti N. 122 F.)

Çuro ale sante vagnielle de dio io che son chavo de dexena chio ordenere con quelli de la mia dexena che ogno die de festa solene çoe questo ano MCCC . XXX . V . de chalende davril de chia ogni sancti da questo in avanti dale chalende de março de chi a ogni sancti driedo disnar nui seremo insenbre a balestrar ali bersai de veniesia e ali . i i . de sancto Nicholo çoea queli che e fati per locomun o che sta a far e se io avere ordenado da eser ad algun bersaio et son tegnudo da eser con queli de la mia desiena alo dito bersaio avanti che basta la chanpana che sonera a san Marcho e devemo star a balestrar continuamentre e puramentre sença alguna faliçia con le nostre balestre che sii bone e soficiente e no se devemo partir de chi a che nu averemo trato colpi . x . traçando e balestrando dali banchi o che se senta soto li bersai over da quelo logo de chia lo mantelo delo bersaio dalaltro chavo o che se la tera levada con li segni e devesemo çencer caschun lo so crocho e tirar caschun la balestra con la qual elo dovera balestrar e da poi chio chavo sere conto a barsaio la che nu averemo ordenado balestrar avegna che tuti queli tuti queli (sic) de la mia desiena no sia çonti posa çaschun de la mia desiena che sera la a balestrar e trar li soi colpi e se io no fose çonto alo dito bersaio debiame aspetar e no balestrar de chi a che la campana sera bastada mo bastada la chanpana tal se io sero vegnudo qual seijo no sere vegnudo posa trar e balestrar li soi colpi e poi andar per soi fati e caschun de mia desiena che fa inprestedi che no vignera fara et oservara como e dito chacera in pena de grossi . VI . per caschuna fiada et io che son chavo chaço in pena delo doplo seio faço inprestedi e li oltri che no fase enprestedi chaça in pena de grossi . i i . per çaschuna fiada e io chavo delo doplo seio no faço imprestedi e se algun dela mia desiena volese andar a balestrar con soa brigada che no fose de

mi desiena posande andar con mia liçençia afidando eli cheli no toia liçençia seno per andar a balestrar e de star e de far ço che e dito de sovra e salvo ogno ordenamento fato o che se fasese sovra deço e so tegnudo per chaçudo çaschun dela mia desiena che falise e no observase tal seli ascusia qual seno in scrito alinquisitori delo sestier per tuto loltro die sequente per sagramento e soto pena de grossi . xii . per ogni fiada dachio falise de darli salvo seio li avese dado parola noli dare per chaçudi e seli avera scusia vadase a scusiar allinquisitori ele scusie cheli po scusiar sie queste seli fose stadi enfermi in quelo die che li avese falido o cheli no fose stadi in la tera in quelo die o che fose stado si rio tenpo che lo no podese eser stado balestrado o cheli fose andadi in quela ora ad algun morto o a visitar o se noçe fose stade in quelo die a chasa soa eciamdio queste chasion no podese eser io lasere un de queli dela mia desiena che me parera in mio logo e dareli questo chapitolario elo sia tegnudo de receverlo e de far loicio sicomo eo quando eo de son soto pena de grossi . xii . per ogna fiada cheli recusiase de receverlo lo chapitolario e de farlo dito oficio e son tegnudo de darli in scrito ali diti inquisitori per chaçudi ogna fiada che li recusiase infra terço diebus.

(Venezia, Archivio di Stato. — Atti diplomatici, Misti N. 122 G.)

INDEX

INDEX

Adriatic, benediction of the, i, 212
Agostini, cited, ii, 76n.
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, referred to, i, 154
Alchemy used for the falsification of coin, i, 160
Altino, i, 12
Amuriana, i, 12
Anafesto, Paoluccio, first Doge, i, 73–74
Anastasii Bibliotecarii, cited, i, 124n.
Ancone, the, form the origin of Venetian painting, ii, 123
Aquileia, duomo and baptistry at, i, 63
Arch, pointed, use of the, ii, 102, 104
Architecture, Venetian, ii, 96–111; Byzantine and Lombard work in, 97, 98; Veneto-Byzantine style, 99; influence of the Romanesque, 100; Saracenic influence, 101; Gothic art in, 102
Archives of Padua, i, 19
Archivio di Stato, cited, i, 157n., 159n., ff.
Arezzo, Nicolò Cieco d', on Venice, i, 92
Armand, cited, ii, 87
Armingaud, cited, i, 118n.
Arsenal, i, 25, 69
Art of the Veneti, i, 3
Arzana, i, 68
Ascension Day, festival of, i, 212
Ascoli, cited, ii, 148n.
Atlases, i, 141–142
Austere habits, ii, 26
Azario, cited, ii, 57n.

Bailo, cited, ii, 133
Bancogiro of Venice, the, i, 150
Banks and banking, i, 151; full liberty in the banking business given, 151
Baracchi, cited, ii, 34n.
Barattieri, cited, ii, 55n.
Barbaro, Giosafatte, journey of, i, 141
Barberino, cited, i, 134n.
Bardi, Girolamo, quoted, i, 213
Bardo cucullus, i, 5
Bazar, i, 127
Bead making, ii, 69
Belgrano, cited, ii, 124n.
Bellemo, cited, i, 140n.
Bellini, Jacopo, life and work of, ii, 136
Bells, early use of, ii, 64
Berchet, cited, i, 141n., 142n.
Bernardo, Giustinian, quoted, i, 47n.
Bernardo, Trevisan, cited, i, 27n.
Bertaldo, Jacopo, his *Splendor*, i, 95, 97
Bertanza and Lazzarini, cited, i, 55n., 59n.
Besta, Enrico, cited, i, 93n., 94n., 95n., 97n., 103n., 104n., 105n., 107n., 108n., 109n., 111n.
Besta, Fabio, cited, i, 146
Bibione, i, 10
Bills, of exchange, i, 152; protesting a bill, 152

Bini, cited, i, 91n., ii, 77n.
Blanqui, cited, i, 145n.
Boccaccio, on Venice and the Venetians, i, 89
Bocconio, Marin, conspiracy of, i, 85
Bohmer, cited, i, 116n.
Bonaldi, case of, i, 100
Boncompagno da Segna, quoted, i, 45
Boni, cited, i, 32n., 41n., ii, 86n., 111n.
Boschini, cited, ii, 76n.
Bottle-blowers, guild of, ii, 67
Bouillet, cited, ii, 120
Bowmen, training of, i, 197-199
Bracciolini, Poggio, his account of Niccolo de' Conti's voyage, i, 140
Breydenbach, cited, i, 35
Bricks, i, 49
Bridges, i, 29
Bronze work, ii, 84–86
Brown, Rawdon, cited, i, 118n.
Bucintoro, the, i, 214
Bull-fights, i, 203
Bullo, cited, i, 140n.
Buono family, masters of the, in architecture, ii, 118
Burchellati, cited, i, 85n.
Burial rites, ii, 24, 25
Byzantine architecture in Venice, ii, 96, 98, 111
Byzantine art employed in church decoration, ii, 63
Byzantine influence, in Venetian goldsmith work, ii, 78, 82; in painting, 121
Byzantium, its relation to Venice, i, 20–21

Cà d'oro, palace of, architecture and decoration, ii, 108–111
Caffi, cited, i, 59n., ii, 127n.
Caloprini, the, i, 166, 167
Campanile, the, i, 32–33, 52, 64
Canal, Martino da, quoted, i, 115
Canals, i, 27, 30
Candiani, the, i, 164, 167; story of Elena and Gerardo Guoro, i, 166
Canestrini, cited, i, 62n.
Cannaregio, sestiere of, its extent, and the churches contained therein, i, 25
Cantalamessa, cited, ii, 137n.
Caorle, i, 10; cathedral at, 63
Capitolaro of the Signori di Notte, i, 42–43
Caprin, cited, i, 10n., ii, 127n.
Caprule, i, 10
Carabellese, cited, i, 120n., 127n.
Carnival, the, i, 216
Caroldo, cited, i, 68n., 124n.
Carpaccio, Vittore, painting by, i, 56
Casini, cited, ii, 57n., 154n.
Cason, cited, i, 69n.
Cassiodorus, his letter to the Tribunes, i, 13–15, 17
Castellani, the, rivalry with the Nicolotti, i, 201
Castello, sestiere of, its extent, and the churches contained therein, i. 24; the religious centre of the city, 37
Castelnuovo, cited, i, 150n.
Castrum Olivoli, i, 24
Cathedral of Venice, i, 25
Cattaneo, cited, ii, 65, 96
Cavallcaselle, cited, i, 53n.
Cecchetti, cited, i, 28n., 30n., 38n., 41n., 50n., 59n., 85n., 94n., 100n., 103n., ii, 15, 49, 55n., 69n., 157n., ff.
Chains and necklaces of gold, ii, 79, 80
Charity, ii, 36
Charts, i, 141
Child labour prohibited, i, 188
Chimneys, i, 51
Chioggia, i, 13

Chroniclers, early, ii, 140, 141
Chronicles of John the Deacon, and of the Doge, Andrea Dandolo, i, 7
Chronicon Gradense, i, 7
Churches, i, 62–67; towers of, 64; adornment of, ii, 61
Cibrario, cited, i, 103n.
Cicogna, quoted, i, 85n., 203n.
Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, i, 122
Cipolla, cited, i, 12, ii, 75
Cistercian work in architecture, ii, 103
Citizens, order of, i, 169–175; the grand chancellor chosen from, 170; citizenship *de intus* and *de extra*, 170, 172; the requirements for entering, 172
Citizenship, Venetian, acquired by foreigners, i, 172, 173; granted to the well-deserving and to those remarkable for their ability, 174, 176; sought as a safeguard on the sea, 175
Cleanliness in dress, ii, 16, 17
Clergy, relation to people and Doge, i, 73–76; authority and independence secured for, 168
Cod. Trevisaneo, cited, i, 200
Coinage, early use of imperial, in Venice, i, 153; earliest coin minted in Venice, 154; value of the various coins, 157–159; protection of, 160–162
Coins of Louis and Lothair, i, 152, 153
Colonies, i, 120
Colour, Venetian feeling for, ii, 129
Columns, brought from Constantinople, i, 36
Commemoriali Reg., cited, i, 174n.
Commerce, i, 115–127
Commercial treaties, i, 116
Comune Venetiarum, i, 72
Consiglio Minore, i, 81
Consoli dei Mercanti, i, 122
Conspiracies, 85–88
Constantinople, trade with, i, 117, 120–121
Consuls, i, 120
Contarini, Ambrogio, journeys of, i, 141
Contarini, Donato, cited, i, 172n., ii, 39
Contarini, Giovanni, will of, i, 83
Contento, cited, i, 60n.
Conti, Niccolò de', journey of, i, 140
Corner, cited, ii, 34n
Corruption of manners and morals, ii, 56–60
Council of Forty, i, 81
Council of Ten, i, 86
Courts, i, 122
Credit, theory of, was in full exercise in Venice in the thirteenth century, i, 152
Crime, laws of, i, 112–113
Cronaca Altinate, i, 7
Cronaca di Marco, cited, i, 210
Crotta, cited, i, 78n.
Crusades, effect of, on Venice, ii, 30
Culluris, cited, i, 132n.
Culture, Venetian, ii, 139–175

Da Canal, Chronicon, cited, i, 206n., ii, 143n.
Dalle Masegne, Jacobello and Pietro Paolo, ii, 116, 117
Damiani, Petri, cited, ii, 24
Dandolo, the, i, 168
Dandolo, Chronicon, i, 7; cited, 32n., 73, 74, 115n.; quoted, 75n., 76
Dante, imitation of, by Venetian writers, ii, 149, 150
Davia, cited, ii, 116n.
De Beylié, cited, ii, 101n.

De Monacis, cited, i, 191n.
De Verneilh, cited, ii, 78n., 99n.
Deniers of Louis and Lothair, i, 153
Dialect, Venetian, ii, 147
Districts of Venice, i, 24–26
Doge, origin of, i, 72; relation to the people and the clergy, 73–76; election of, 73–76; council of, 75; attributes of, 76; change of method of election of, 81, 82; his visit to Santa Maria Formosa on the fête of the Marie, 211
Dolcetti, cited, ii, 56n.
Dolfin, cited, i, 222
Domenichelli, cited, i, 138n.
Domenico Selvo, Dogaressa, ii, 23
Donatello, ii, 119
Dorsuduro, sestiere of, its extent and the churches contained therein, i, 26
Ducal Palace, i, 59, 67–68; architecture and decoration of, ii, 105–107; paintings, 134
Ducal seal, i, 174
Ducat, coining of the, i, 156; value of the, 159
Dwelling-house architecture, ii, 101, 107

Earthquakes, i, 46n.
Embroidery, ii, 75
Enamel work, ii, 78
Eneti, the, i, 7
Enlart, cited, ii, 103
Equilio, i, 11
Este, i, 3
Euganei, the, i, 2
Export, regulations governing, i, 123; amount of, 126

Factions in the islands of the lagoons, i, 19–22
Falier, Doge Marino, conspiracy of, i, 86–88
Falsification of coin, i, 160
Family life in Venice, ii, 44
Federici, cited, i, 62n.
Ferrara, cited, i, 151n.
Ferries, i, 29
Ferro, cited, i, 171
Festa delle Marie, i, 210–212
Festivals, public, preserved internal quiet, i, 217
Fêtes, i, 203, 204, 208; religious festivals, 209; civil festivals, 209
Fiamma, Galvano, cited, i, 51
Fieschi, Isabella, story of, ii, 57
Fighting with fists, i, 201
Filiasi, cited, i, 4n., 5n., 31n., 60n., 118n., 124n., 221
Finance, i, 144
Fincati, cited, i, 131n., 135n.
Fires, i, 47
Fischer, cited, i, 142n.
Fishing, i, 200
Flamini, cited, i, 92n.
Fleets, i, 134
Food, ii, 26
Forced loans, i, 149
Foreigners, treatment of, at Venice, i, 104
Fork, use of, introduced, ii, 24
Formaleoni, cited, i, 141n.
Forze d' Ercole, sports of, i, 202
Foscarini, cited, i, 93n., 94n., 138, ii, 148n.
Foscarini, Giovanni, ii, 151
Frati, cited, i, 56n.
Fulin, cited, i, 86n.
Funds, public, i, 147, 149, 150

Gabelentz, cited, ii, 114n., 115n.
Galleys, description of, i, 131; "great galleys," 132
Galli, cited, i, 55n., 58n.
Gallicciolli, cited, i, 24n., 29n., 48n., 51n., 53n., 60n., 64n., 198n., 209n., ii, 24, 34
Gamba, his reproduction of poem attributed to Languinacci, i, 129n.

Gambling, laws against, ii, 55
Gastaldi ducali, i, 78
Gayet, cited, ii, 120
Gechin, on Venice, i, 92
Geography, science of, studied, i, 141
Gfrörer, cited, i. 15n., 75n., 95n., 99n., 118n., 124n., 168n.
Ghirardini, cited, 1, 3n.
Gianotti, cited, i, 16
Gibbon, cited, i, 129
Giotto, ii, 131
Giudici del Comune, i, 122
Giudici del Forestier, i, 122
Giustinian Bernardo, quoted, ii, 98
Giustinian, Lionardo, quoted, ii, 46
Giustizieri, the, i, 179
Glass work, ii, 65; origin and development of, 66–73; stained glass windows, 68; beads, 69; mirrors, 69; goblets and vases, 70
Gloria, cited, i, 8n.
Gold, coining of, i, 156
Goldsmiths' and jewellers' work, ii, 77–84; Byzantine influence in, 78, 82; German influence in, 83
Gothic architecture, development of, ii, 102; in Venice, 103–105; sculpture, 114–116
Gradenigo, Piero, reform of, i, 84; quoted, 169
Grado, i, 8, 10
Grammar, study of, ii, 158
Grand Chancellor, institution of the office, i, 170
Great Council, i, 80; duties of, 81; constitution of, 82, 84; admission to, 169
Greek manners brought in by Greek princesses, ii, 23
Greenland, reached by Niccolò Zeno, i, 139
Grion, cited, i, 88n., ii, 43
Gualandi, cited, ii, 106
Guglielmotti, cited, i, 131n., 215n.
Guidi, Jacopo d'Albizzotto, his poem on Venice, i, 39–40, 92; his description of a bedroom, 56
Guilds, i, 177; survival of, during the middle ages, 177; supervision of the *Giustizieri*, 179; relations with the government, 180; of devotion, national guilds, crafts-guilds, 183; government and constitution of, 183 188; relief associations, 188; festivals, 189; buildings of, 190; principles of, were the precursors of modern political economy, 191
Gulf of Venice, i, 121

Halls, i, 59
Hegel, cited, i, 70n.
Heraclea, i, 11
Heyd, cited, i, 121n., ii, 17
Hortis, cited, i, 90
Hose, company of the, i, 203, 218
Houses, foundations, i, 46–47; wooden, 47; disposition of, 48; of stone and brick, 48; construction of, 49; loggias, 50; chimneys, 51; towers, 52; internal arrangements, 53–60; bedrooms, 56–58; kitchens, 58; staircases, 59; halls, 59; value of, 60; rent, 61; adornments, 60, 61; lodging-houses, 62
Hunting, i, 200
Hygiene and physical science, study of, ii, 158

Illumination, art of, in Venice, ii, 124–126
Import, regulations governing, i, 123; amount of, 126
Industrial arts, ii, 61–95
Inquisitori alla conservazione dei segreti di Stato, i, 86

Inquisitori dei Dieci, i, 86
Iron and steel work, ii, 87, 88
Ivory and bone work, ii, 93

Jaffè, quoted, i, 75n.
Jesolo, i, 11; church at, 63
Jews, their industry made to contribute to the national wealth, i, 192; concessions to, 193; the Ghetto, 195
John the Deacon, quoted, i, 52; cited, 77n., 112n., 116n.
Julin, cited, i, 39n.
Justice, administration of, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, i, 98–102
Juvenal, quoted, ii, 59n.

Kohlschutter, cited, i, 117n.
Kraus, cited, ii, 120n.

Lagoons, the, i, 7–13; preservation of the conditions of, 43–44
Latin, early Venetian chronicles in, ii, 145; Venetian corruption of, 146
Lattes, cited, i, 151n.
Law, i, 93–114; no written Venetian, before the twelfth century transmitted, 93; in the thirteenth century, 93; Statuto Veneto, 94; in earlier period, 94–98; sources of Venetian, 96–97; civil, before Venice became an independent State, 102; as to the rights of persons, 102–105; as to the rights of property, 105–109; of navigation, 109–111; of succession, 111–112; of crime, 112–113
Lazari, V., cited, i, 103n., 125n., ii, 71
Lazzarini, cited, i, 55n., 59n., 88n. ii, 50
Learning in Venice, rare among the middle and lower classes, ii, 154; founding of the University of Padua, 155; teachers of renown in Venice, 156; public instruction, 157; professors and students, 157; noted men settled in Venice, 165
Leases of land, i, 107
Leather work, ii, 77
Lenel, cited, i, 120n., 121n.
Leona, quoted, i, 28n.
Levi, C. A. cited, i, 132n.
Levy, E., cited, ii, 143n.
Liber Communalis (Plegiorum), i, 123
Library, Public, in Venice, Petrarch's donation the beginning of, ii, 164n.
Lidi, i, 8–9
Lion, cited, i, 67
Lion of San Marco, i, 79 and n.
Lira, value of the, i, 157, 158
Liruti in Argelati, cited, i, 155n.
Literature, Venetian, early chronicles, ii, 140, 141; French verse in Venice, 143, 144; works in Latin, 145; poetry in Lombard and Venetian dialect, 148, 152; early poets, 150–152; street songs, 152, 154; literature culture rare, 154; diplomatic reports, 155; famous teachers in Venice, 156
Loans to the State, i, 148; voluntary, 148; forced, 149
Lodging-houses, i, 62
Loggia dei Cavalieri, paintings in, ii, 132
Loggie, i, 50
Lombard architecture in Venice, ii, 97, 98
Lorenzi, cited, i, 86n., ii, 50n.
Love and marriage, ii, 40, 45
Ludwig, cited, ii, 172

Luxury, in dress, ii, 13–18, 23; regulated by the government, 18, 21.

Magister militum, i, 77
Magnocavallo, cited, i, 138n.
Majurbio (Mazzorbo), i, 9, 12
Malaguzzi-Valeri, cited, ii, 126n.
Malamocco, i, 12; earthquake in, 46n.
Malipiero, cited, i, 150n.
Manfroni, cited, i, 116n., 131 n., 132n.
Manners and customs, ii, 23–60
Mantegna, ii, 136
Maps, i, 139, 141–142
Marchesan, cited, ii, 149 ff.
Marin, cited, i, 120n., 122n.
Marinelli, cited, i, 141n.
Marini, cited, i, 218n.
Maritime tribunes, i, 70–72
Markets, i, 127–129
Marriage, ii, 40–46, 51
Masegne, Jacobello and Pietro Paolo Dalle, ii, 116
Masks, wearing of, i, 217
Matrimony, i, 105
Maundy Thursday, festival of, i, 215
Mauro, Fra, planisphere of, i, 142
Mayor, cited, i, 139n.
Medicine, science of, a prey to superstition, ii, 159
Milanesi, cited, i, 39n.
Milani, cited, ii, 15n., 80n.
Mills, i, 31
Mint, not established in Venice earlier than the ninth century, i, 153; minting of Venetian coins, ii, 154–156
Mirrors of stainless glass, ii, 69
Missals, illuminated, ii, 124
Mocenigo, Doge Tomaso, on Venetian trade, i, 126, 130
Mocenigo, F. Nani, i, 42n.
Molinier, cited, ii, 83n.
Molmenti, cited, i, 88n, ii, 137
Mommsen, cited, i, 8n.
Monachi Sangallensis, cited, ii, 78
Monaci, cited, i, 88n.
Monasteries, retirement to, ii, 33–35
Money, use of the Roman coinage, i, 153; minting of Venetian coin, 154–162; value of Venetian, 157. *See* Coinage
Monpurgo, cited, ii, 150
Monticolo, cited, i, 32n., 38n., 58n., 73n., 179n., 183n.,185n., 186, 187, 188, ii, 22
Morelli, J., cited, i, 141n., 220n., ii, 46
Morosini and Caloprini, feuds of the, i, 166
Morpurgo, cited, i, 92n.
Mosaics, floors of churches, ii, 64; figure work, 65, 120
Moschetti, cited, i, 92n.
Mosto, Alvise da Cà da, voyages of, i, 140
Motta, cited, ii, 20
Munstero, quoted, ii, 15
Muratori, quoted, i, 51, 179n.
Music, in Venice, ii, 160–162
Musical instruments, ii, 162
Mussafia, cited, ii, 148
Mussato, Albertino, cited, i, 80n., 145n.; quoted, i, 121
Mutinelli, cited, ii, 34

Nativity of the Virgin, painting, i, 57
Nava, cited, ii, 116
Navigation, law of, i, 109–111; early, 136–141; study of, 141
Navigators, early, 136–141
New men, i, 82, 84
Newfoundland, reached by Niccolò Zeno, i, 139n.
Nobles, i, 163; feuds of, 165, 168; discipline imposed upon, 168;

purchase of the title, 176, 177; familiarity between people and, ii, 48

Olivolo, i, 24
Organ, use of, in Venice, ii, 162, 163
Oriental manners infect Venetian customs, ii, 24
Orseoli, the, i, 164, 167

Pace de Fonoiulio, cited, i, 211n.
Padovan, cited, i, 38n., 159n., 160n., 161n, 172n.
Padua, painters of, ii, 131; University of, ii, 155
Painting, development of, in Venice, ii, 120; Byzantine influence, ii, 121; painters' guild, 122; art of illumination, 124–126; early panel paintings, 127; early painters, 128, 129, 130; feeling for colour, 129; influence of Franco-German art, 132
Paoletti, cited, i, 67n., ii, 105n., 118n., 133n., 137n.
Papadopoli, cited, i, 154n., 160n.
Partecipazi, the, i, 164
Partecipazio, Doge Agnello, i, 22
Pasini, cited, ii, 65n., 78n.
Paths, in Venice, i, 27–28
Patria potestas, i, 105
Pauli Diaconi, cited, ii, 97
Pavanello, i, 4n.
Pecchio, cited, i, 145n.
Pennesi, cited, i, 140n.
Pennies, Venetian, mentioned in ancient deeds, i, 155
People, relation to clergy and Doge, i, 73–77
Persons, laws as to rights of, i, 102–105
Pertile, cited, i, 93n., 95n., 97n.
Petrarch, cited, i, 52n., 207n.; on Venice, 90; gift of his library to Venice, ii, 164
Pianta di Venezia, by Temanza, i, 24.
Piccolpasso, Cipriano, cited, ii, 72n.
Pietro, Niccolò di, ii, 129
Pigeons, i, 37
Pignoria, cited, i, 5n.
Piovego, magistracy of, i, 43
Plague, i, 44
Planispheres, i, 142
Playing cards, introduction of, ii, 56
Poetry, lack of early Venetian, ii, 141; French verse in Venice, 143, 144; in Lombard and Venetian dialects, 148; popular, set to music, ii, 168, 169
Polo, Marco, his book *Il Milione*, i, 137
Porcelain, work in, ii, 73
Pordenone, Oderico da, i, 138
Porticoes of churches, ii, 99
Pottery, origin and development of the art of, ii, 71–73
Predelli, R., cited, i, 41n., 93n., 110n., 148n.
Printing, discovery of, met with great success, ii, 171; great printers, 172
Professors and students in Venice, ii, 157, 158, 167
Property, laws as to rights of, i, 105–109
Provveditori di Comune, magistracy of, i, 43

Quadri, cited, i, 138n.
Quirini, Giovanni, ii, 150
Quirini, Niccolò, sonnet on Venetians, i, 88
Quirini, Pietro, voyage of, i, 140

Rajna, cited, i, 203n.
Regatta, the, i, 202
Religious festivals, i, 209
Renier-Michiel, cited, i, 211
Renier, R., cited, ii, 150n.

Rialto, i, 21, 23; the business centre of the city, 37; history of, 38-39
Rialto bridge, i, 29
Riant, cited, ii, 77n.
Ricci, cited, ii, 63n.
Rivoalto, i, 13, 18
Rivoli, duc de, Prince d'Essling, cited, ii, 171
Roberti, cited, i, 178n., 186
Rolandino, cited, i, 204
Roma, survival of the guilds, i, 178n.
Romanesque architecture, its influence on Venetian art, ii, 100
Rossi, Niccolò de', ii, 149
Rossi, V., cited, i, 39n., 40n., 56n., 73n., 74n., 129n., ii, 20n.
Rulli, making of, ii, 69
Ruskin, cited, ii, 114n.

Sabellici, cited, ii, 161n.
Saccerdo, G., cited, i, 50n., 51n.
Sacchetti, Franco, on Venice, i, 91
Sacerdoti, cited, i, 109n., 110n.
Sagredo, cited, i, 47n., 180n., 182n., 184n.
Sala del Maggior Consiglio, i, 59, 67
Salt-pans, i, 31
Salt-trade, i, 124
Salt-works of Venice, i, 16, 17-18
Sandi, cited, i, 74n., 94n., 150n.; on early Italian law, 96
San Donato, church of, i, 63
San Giacomo di Rialto, i. 64
San Marco, his journey from Aquileia to Ravenna, 8; his body brought to Venice, 79; lion of, 79 and n.
San Marco, church, i, 36, 65-67, ii, 98, 142
San Marco, piazza, i, 32-35; sestiere of, its extent and the churches contained therein, 25
San Mauro, monastery of, i, 63
San Polo, sestiere of, its extent and the churches contained therein, i, 26
San Quintino, cited, i, 154n.
Sanguinacci, poem attributed to, i, 127-129; quoted, ii, 14
Santa Croce, sestiere of, its extent and the churches contained therein, i, 26
Santa Maria delle Grazie, baptistry and church of, i, 63
Sansovino, F., cited, i, 49n., 216n., ii, 13n.
Sanudo, Marin Torsello, cited, i, 15n., 29n., 33n., 47n., 61n.; quoted, 87; cited, 203n., 216, 222, ii, 73n.; his book *Liber Secretorum, etc.*, i, 137-138
Scherer, cited, i, 118n., 124n.
Schiavi, cited, i, 193n.
Schlosser, cited, i, 53n., ii, 93n.
Schlumberger, cited, i, 37n.
Schultz, cited, ii, 13
Schupfer, cited, i, 94n., 95n.
Sclopis, cited, i, 110n.
Sculpture, Venetian, ii, 111-119; Byzantine influence, 111-113; Gothic models, 114-116; Tuscan influence, 116
Seamen, i, 135-136
Sea-power, Venetian, i, 14-15
Segarizzi, quoted, ii, 59
Selvatico, cited, ii, 100, 117
Senato, cited, i, 133n.
Sercambi, cited, ii, 58n.
Sestieri, i, 24-26
Shipbuilding industry of Venice, i, 130, 132
Ships, varieties of, i, 130-132; government, 133; commanders of, 134; owners of, 135; crews of, 135-136
Signori di Notte, i, 42-43
Silk weaving and dyeing, ii, 74-77

Simone di ser Dino da Siena, on Venice, i, 90
Simonsfeld, cited, i, 32n., 62n., 138n., 178n.
Slaves, condition of, i, 103; trade in, 124–126
Smuggling, i, 123
Solmi, cited, i, 178n.
Soresina, cited, i, 151
Speech, State censorship over, ii, 54
Sports, i, 200
State censorship, ii, 53–56
Statuto Veneto, i, 94
Stefania, case of, i, 99
Stumpf, cited, i, 156n.
Subsidy fund, i, 150
Succession, laws of, i, 111–112
Surgery, ii, 159
Surnames of Venetians were preserved through the dark ages, i, 164

Tafel, cited, i, 120n., 121n., 124n.
Tassini, cited, i, 211, ii, 54
Temanza, cited, i, 27n., 47n., 51n.; quoted, 50
Tentori, cited, i, 85n.
Terra Veneta, i, 6
Thomas, cited, i, 90n., 120n., 121n., 124n.
Tiepolo, Bajamonte, conspiracy of, i, 85; his house razed, 86n.; his Statuto Nautico, i, 110n.
Tiepolo, the, i, 168
Tino, cited, i, 218
Toaldo, cited, i, 141n.
Tomba, i, 24
Torcello, i, 11; church and baptistry of, 63
Tourneys, i, 205
Towers, i, 52, 64
Trade, *see* Commerce
Trade in cloths from various countries, ii, 15
Treasury, the, i, 146
Treaties, commercial, i, 116
Trevisan, Nicolò, quoted, i, 29n.; cited, 36n., 61n.
Treviso, March of, i, 204; painters and paintings of, ii, 133; university at, 149
Tribunes, i, 70–72, 76–77
Turgan, cited, ii, 66n.
Tuscan influence in Venetian art, ii, 116, 118

Ughelli, cited, i, 155n., ii, 62n.
Universities, ii, 170
Urbani de Gheltof, cited, i, 51n., 79n., ii, 72n., 75, 83n.

Valerius, Aug., cited, ii, 140n.
Vannozzo, Francesco, on the Venetians, i, 88
Veneti, their arrival and settlement in Italy, i, 1–2; their customs and their art in early times, 3; their history from 215 B. C. to the time of Romulus Augustulus, 4–7; their family life, 4–5; their dress, 5
Venetian Estuary in Roman times, 1, 7–9
Venetians, the original, noble and patrician, i, 15–17; occupations of the original, 17–18; factions in the islands in early times, 19–22
Veneto-Grecians, i, 21
Veneto-Italians, i, 21
Veneto-Romans, i, 21
Venezia, the name, to what it was applied, i, 37
Venice, origins, i, 1–22; of the mainland and of the lagoons, 13, 23; what proportion of the original settlers were noble and what patrician, 15–17; dependence of, on the Roman and Byzantine

Empires, 20–21 ; seat of government removed to Rialto, 22 ; the islands of, 23–24 ; districts, 24–26 ; canals, 27; public paths, 27 ; open spaces in the city, 27 ; aspect of the streets, paving, etc., 28 ; bridges, 29 ; ferries, 29; canals, 30 ; salt-pans, 31 ; mills, 31 ; piazza of San Marco, 32–35 ; beautification of the city, 35–37 ; Guidi's poem on, 39–40 ; sanitary regulations, 41–43 ; preservation of the lagoons, 43–44 ; houses, 46–62 ; churches, 62–67 ; Ducal Palace, 67–68; arzana, 68; arsenal, 69 ; constitution, 70–85 ; conspiracies, 85–88 ; verses on, 88–92 ; laws of, 93–114 ; commerce and navigation, 115 143 ; finance, economy, and currency of, 144–162 ; nobles and citizens, 163–196 ; martial exercises, sports, and festivals, 197–222 ; costume, ii, 1–23 ; manners and customs, 23–60 ; the industrial arts, 61–95 ; the fine arts, 96–138 ; culture, 139–175
Venturi, cited, i, 37n., ii, 63n.
Verona, painters of, ii, 130
Verses on Venice, i, 88–92
Villani, Giovanni, cited, i, 51 ; on Venice and the Venetians, 88
Vinland, i, 139n.
Viollet-le-Duc, cited, i, 55n., 118n.
Visdomini alla Messetaria, i, 122
Visdomini da mare, i, 122

Weddings, ii, 41, 42
William of Apulia, quoted, i, 119
Windows of stained glass, earliest manufacture of, ii, 68
Women, place of in early days, ii, 28, 29; chivalry toward, 37 ; marriage of, 41–48, 51 ; in the family, 44 ; laws for the protection of, 49–53 ; infidelity of, 58
Wood carving, ii, 88

Zambler, cited, i, 120n., 127n.
Zanetti, Girolamo, cited, i, 30n., 135n., 214
Zanotto, cited, ii, 119n.
Zappert, cited, i, 136n.
Zechin, *see* Gechin
Zeno, Antonio, i, 139
Zeno, Carlo, i, 139
Zeno, Catarino, journeys of, i, 140
Zeno, Niccolò, his travels, i, 138–139; his compilation from Antonio Zeno's manuscript, i, 139
Zon, cited, i, 210, 215
Zonghi, A., cited, ii, 119n.
Zurla, cited, i, 137n., 142n.

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